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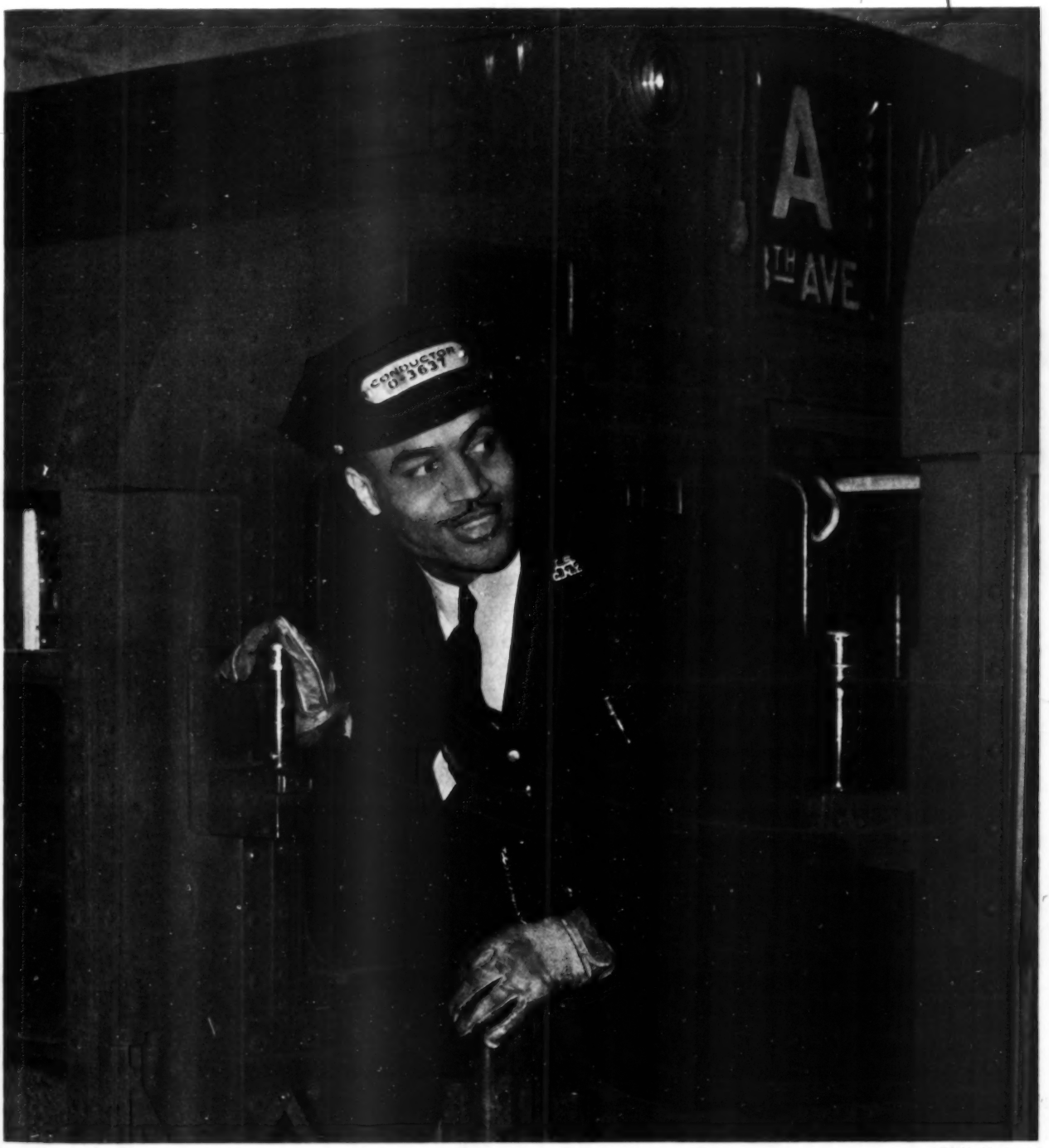

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COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS

Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, head of **Howard University's** Sociology Dep't, was recently named to the executive board of the Eastern Sociological Society. His new book "The Negro Family in the United States" was published last month.

Howard's Founders Library was formally dedicated by Sec'y of the Interior Ickes on May 25. It cost $1,106,000. The architect was Albert I. Cassell.

Dr. B. R. Mays, dean of the School of Religion at Howard University, delivered the commencement address at **Morehouse College** on June 5, when a class of 57 was graduated.

The commencement address at **Lincoln University** (Missouri) was delivered on June 5, by Dr. Joseph F. Drake, President of Alabama A. & M. College. The graduating class numbered 59 students from nine states.

The summer school session opened June 12 and closes August 4.

Lincoln students recently gave money, food and clothing for the stricken sharecroppers of southeastern Missouri after an investigation by Prof. Lorenzo T. Green, assistant in the History dep't.

Business Manager H. K. Logan of **Wiley College** was recently elected a director of the Business Officers Association in Negro Schools. Dean R. B. Anderson has also been elected vice-president in the College Deans of Men association.

Wiley College was recently host to 300 graduates from high schools in the Marshall (Texas) area.

Rev. J. Stanley Durkee of Brooklyn, N. Y. delivered the commencement address at **Storer College** on the occasion of its 72nd graduation exercises. Degrees were given for the first time.

The Class of 1939 gave a drinking fountain for the campus and contributed $10 toward the purchase of a new sound motion picture machine. Prof. Wm. A. Saunders, '95, was awarded the Alumni Medal.

Mosher Hall for men is to be redecorated and refurnished this summer.

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Brackett Hall is being equipped with steel fire escapes.

Dr. W. L. Wright, President of **Lincoln Univ.** (Penna.) spoke at a luncheon in New York recently where a committee has been organized for this oldest institution in the U. S. for the higher education of Negro men. Special gifts are being sought in connection with the Sesquicentenniel campaign for $10,000,000 for more than 50 colleges by the Presbyterian Church.

Dr. Frank L. Williams, Principal of the Vashon High School, St. Louis, Mo., delivered the commencement address at **Arkansas State College** on May 19. Bachelor's degrees were awarded 26 students. At the August convocation 30 more are expected to qualify for degrees.

Tuskegee Institute held its 54th graduation exercises on May 22. Granted were eleven degrees in Agriculture, sixteen degrees in Business, five degrees in Education, eighteen degrees in Home Economics and Commercial Dietetics, fourteen degrees in Mechanical Industries, three degrees in Music, one degree in Physical Education. Diplomas: 57 from high school, 12 diplomas in Mechanical Industries and six in Nurse Training. For the first time the degree of Bachelor of Science in Commercial Dietetics was granted, the recipient being George Clark.

Miss Grace Doyle has been elected president of the student body at **Fisk University.**

Ramon S. Scruggs a 1932 graduate, has become commercial representative of the Michigan Bell Telephone Co. He was formerly field representative for the Rumford Baking Powder Co. and Boy's Work secretary at the Detroit colored Y.M.C.A.

The 65th commencement address was delivered on June 14 by Dr. Homer P. Rainey, chairman of the American Youth Commission, and president elect of the University of Texas.

At **Atlanta University** the 70th commencement address was delivered by Harry H. Pace, '03, president of the Supreme Liberty Life Ins. Co. of Chicago, to 34 graduates receiving Master's degrees, on June 6.

From June 12 to July 7, a Recreation Training Institute will be conducted by the National Recreation Association of New York City.

Dr. Myron W. Adams, fourth president of Atlanta died May 27 in his 79th year, at West Townsend, Mass.

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From the University Laboratory School 34 boys and girls received diplomas.

From **St. Augustine's College** on May 24, 70 graduates received degrees, diplomas and certificates. 26 degrees were bachelor of arts and 10 bachelor of science. Ten diplomas were awarded to graduates of the St. Agnes Training School for Nurses.

The annual address was delivered by Dean Walter C. Jackson of the Women's College of the University of North Carolina.

A summer institute on parent education and child development will be held at **Bennett College** from July 15 to August 4, directed by Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell, Economics head.

Dorothy Williams, Blairsville, Pa., has been elected president of the Student Government Association.

Bennett's 66th commencement was addressed by Hon. James L. McConaughty, lieutenant-governor of Connecticut and president of Wesleyan University. 47 young women received degrees.

A desk made in the **Hampton Institute** Trade School and presented a year ago to President Roosevelt is now in his little cottage at Hyde Park. He wrote Pres. Howe: "It is the first piece of furniture in the living room and everybody admired it greatly . . . I shall always treasure it in my home."

The 1939 commencement address was delivered on May 29 by Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta Univ., when 142 degrees were conferred, and 46 diplomas.

The summer school for teachers runs from June 12 to August 11.

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute was the commencement speaker at the 44th annual exercises at **West Virginia State College** on June 5. Ninety-eight degrees were conferred by Pres. John W. Davis.

A special feature of this year's summer session will be a series of seven courses for teachers of the deaf and blind.

The commencement address at **Morgan College** was delivered by Dr. William Pickens, director of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and formerly Dean of the college, on June 12. Bachelors' degrees went to 41 women and 31 men; 21 receiving A.B. and 51 B.S.

More than 400 students are expected at the summer school.

Prof. George H. Spaulding (Chemistry) has received an $1,800 fellowship from the General Education Board to study at the University of Pennsylvania, 1939-40, in pursuit of his Doctorate in chemistry.

The 58th **Spelman College** commencement exercises were addressed by Dean Miriam F. Carpenter of Wheaton College, a former faculty member, on June 7. A class of 48 graduated.

The Seymour Finney Prize for maintaining the highest scholastic average for four years went to Miss Grace Days of Gainesville, Fla.

(*Continued on page 222*)

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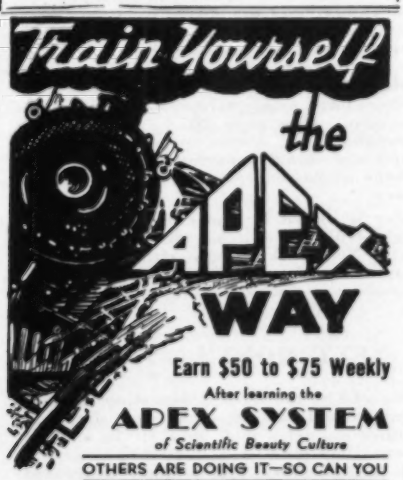

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Volume 46, No. 7 *Whole No. 343*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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THE COVER

Conductor Brewer is one of the numerous colored employees on the Eighth Avenue Subway System in New York. From the very beginning of this subway colored people have been employed, and more than a dozen young colored engineers assisted in the planning and construction of it. When the tube was opened in September, 1932, some colored men were employed immediately in the station booths making change for passengers. This was the first time that Negroes had ever done this type of work on a subway system in New York since the two privately-owned companies, the IRT and the BMT employed them only as porters and elevator operators. Shortly after the Eighth Avenue Line began operation, colored people began agitating for the right to take civil service examinations for any position on the subway and for a long time they were unsuccessful. Finally, however, the board of transportation ruled that men who had had pullman service and who satisfied the other requirements were eligible to take the examination for platform men and conductors. Now there are more than thirty colored conductors and more than fifteen colored motormen. (See page 205.) Colored men are employed throughout the system in maintenance of way, in the all-important signal department which guards the safety of millions of passengers, and in other departments of the subway.

Since this subway is owned by the city, and positions are secured through civil service, it has constituted a powerful argument with New York's Negro citizens in favor of public ownership of utilities as a means of overcoming, in some degree, racial restrictions upon employment opportunities.

NEXT MONTH

The August issue will be the annual education number. Pictures, articles and school data intended for it should be in THE CRISIS office not later than July 3. In addition to information about 1939 graduates, there will be articles by Lucile Bluford, L. D. Reddick, and William S. Bernard, of the faculty of the University of Colorado, whose article is entitled "Education for Tolerance."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Thurgood Marshall is special counsel for the N.A.A.C.P., attached to the national office staff.

•

E. Frederic Morrow is coordinator of branches of the N.A.A.C.P.

•

Miss Layle Lane is a teacher in the New York public schools who is just finishing up her sabbatical year, most of which was spent in seeing the South first hand by bus. She operates her own farm at Doylestown, Pa.

•

Julio Pierre-Audain is one of the leaders of the opposition to the present Haitian regime. He has set up offices in New York where he operates as executive secretary of the Haiti Information Bureau.

"Equal Justice Under Law"

By Thurgood Marshall

THE Oklahoma franchise case, *Lane* v. *Wilson*, decided on May 22, 1939, marks the twelfth favorable decision from the United States supreme court in cases handled by the N.A.A.C.P. Over a period of twenty-four years the association has been successful in twelve out of thirteen cases before the highest court of the land.

These decisions have served as guide posts in a sustained fight for full citizenship rights for Negroes. They have broadened the scope of protection guaranteed by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution in the fields of the right to register and vote, equal justice before the law, Negroes on juries, segregation, and equal educational opportunities. These precedents have been cited more than sixty-five times in the highest courts in the land and have been of benefit to all citizens, both Negro and white. It is significant that the last case is a follow-up of the very first N.A.A.C.P. case.

The title of this article is the inscription on the U. S. supreme court building in Washington, D. C. Its sentiment has been made more real for all citizens—and for Negro Americans particularly—by the twelve victories affecting basic citizenship rights which have been won by the N.A.A.C.P. in the high court

Registration and Voting

The first *cause celebre* has become known as the "Grandfather Clause Case", *Guinn and Beale* v. *United States* decided in June, 1915. In 1910 the constitution of Oklahoma was amended restricting the right to register and vote to persons who could read and write. However, the clause also provided that persons who either voted prior to 1866 or whose lineal descendants were eligible to vote prior to 1866 were exempt from the test. Since Negroes were not eligible to vote before 1866, the law actually disfranchised most Negroes.

Maryland and other states had passed similar statutes in an effort to disfranchise colored people. The N.A.A.C.P. began a campaign to have these laws declared unconstitutional. Certain election officials in Oklahoma were indicted for violation of federal statutes by refusing Negroes the right to vote because of the grandfather clause. When the case reached the U. S. supreme court, the N.A.A.C.P. filed briefs *amicus curiae* in the case setting forth arguments on the unconstitutionality of the grandfather clause in the Oklahoma constitution.

The provisions were declared unconstitutional by the supreme court in an opinion which clarified the Fifteenth amendment and declared that its provisions were self-executing and destroyed all types of discrimination in voting. The precedent established by this case was used to strike down similar provisions in other states and pointed the way for Negroes to have a fuller realization of their citizenship rights. Mr. Chief Justice White, in construing the Fifteenth amendment declared:

> "But it is equally beyond the possibility of question that the amendment in express terms restricts the power of the United States or the state to abridge or deny the right of a citizen of the United States to vote on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The restriction is coincident with the power and prevents its exertion in disregard of the command of the amendment."

In an effort to circumvent the decision in the Guinn case the state of Oklahoma passed a statute requiring all persons eligible to register to do so within twelve days or to be barred from registering thereafter. However, the statute also provided that all those who voted in 1914 were automatically registered. Since Negroes were disfranchised by the grandfather clause in 1914 they were disfranchised by the new act.

When I. W. Lane was refused registration in Wagoner county, Okla., in 1934, the N.A.A.C.P. started a case in the local federal courts to declare this new law unconstitutional. The case eventually reached the supreme court where lawyers for the association maintained that the new law, although not expressly discriminatory on its face, was actually aimed at disfranchising a large group of Negroes.

On May 22, 1939, Mr. Associate Justice Frankfurter rendered the opinion of the supreme court declaring the new act unconstitutional. The opinion also broadened the scope of the interpretation of the Fifteenth amendment by stating:

> "The amendment nullifies sophisticated as well as simple minded modes of discrimination. It hits onerous procedural requirements which effectively handicap exercise of the franchise by the colored race although the abstract right to vote may remain unrestricted as to race."

The Texas Cases

After the grandfather clause case outlawed the attempts to disfranchise Negroes by preventing them from registering, several states immediately began to devise other schemes. Texas passed a statute which provided that "in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas." The N.A.A.C.P. immediately challenged the constitutionality of this statute when Dr. L. A. Nixon was refused the right to vote in a primary election in El Paso. A suit for damages was instituted and this case was carried to the supreme court after it was dismissed in the lower court.

The supreme court, in what has become known as the "First Texas Primary Case", *Nixon* v. *Herndon*, in March, 1927, reversed the lower court and declared the statute unconstitutional. Mr. Associate Justice Holmes stated:

> "The statute of Texas in the teeth of the prohibition referred to assumes to forbid Negroes to take part in a primary election the importance of which we have indicated, discriminating against them by the distinction of color alone. States may do a good deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color cannot be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the right set up in this case."

The state of Texas, however, was not willing to give up so it attempted to evade the prohibitions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments against state action by passing an act empowering the state Democratic committee to set up its own limitations on its primary. The committee immediately passed a resolution restricting the primary to white electors.

Dr. Nixon was again refused the right to vote in the primary and an action for damages was started which was dismissed and carried to the supreme court. This case, decided in May, 1932, has become known as the

"Second Texas Primary Case". The supreme court declared the new act unconstitutional in an opinion by Mr. Associate Justice Cardozo which declared:

> "With the problem thus laid bare and its essentials exposed to view, the case is seen to be ruled by Nixon v. Herndon, supra. . . . The Fourteenth amendment, adopted as it was with special solicitude for the equal protection of members of the Negro race, lays a duty upon the court to level by its judgment these barriers of color."

Equal Justice in the Courts

The campaign to secure equal justice in the courts has brought about several precedents which have been of value to all defendants in criminal cases, both Negro and white. Criminal cases handled by the N.A.A.C.P. are limited to cases where the particular defendant is about to be denied due process of law because of his race or color and where the case will establish a precedent for the benefit of others.

One of the most far reaching decisions on the question of equal justice came in the "Elaine, Arkansas, Cases", *Moore v. Dempsey*, decided in February, 1923. These cases were the result of an armed clash at Elaine, Arkansas, in October, 1919. Negro farmers in Phillips county, Arkansas, were holding a meeting to decide on the best method of obtaining a better price for their cotton. The colored church where they were gathered was fired into by a group of whites and a pitched battle resulted when the Negroes fought back. Twelve Negroes were sentenced to death and sixty-seven to long prison terms as a result of the riot.

Shortly after the arrest a mob marched to the jail for the purpose of lynching the men, but were prevented from doing so by the presence of United States troops and a promise by a local committee "that if the mob would refrain, they would execute those found guilty in the form of law." Negro witnesses in the trial were whipped until they agreed to testify against the men.

The defendants were tried by a jury of whites in the presence of a mob which threatened lynching and mob violence if there were no convictions. Court-appointed counsel was afraid to ask for a change of venue, called no witnesses and did not put the defendants on the stand. The entire trial lasted three quarters of an hour and in less than five minutes the jury brought in a verdict of guilty of murder. The case was appealed to the Arkansas supreme court and lost.

Attorneys for the N.A.A.C.P. applied for a writ of habeas corpus in the federal courts which was refused and the case was appealed to the U. S. supreme court. The defense was made that habeas corpus was limited by a former case, *Frank v. Mangum*, and would not lie in this case for errors in the trial which were not properly objected to at the trial. The supreme court, however, held that the Frank opinion did not control the case and Mr. Associate Justice Holmes in the majority opinion, in commenting on the Frank case, stated:

> "But if the case is that the whole proceeding is a mask—that counsel, jury and judge were swept to the fatal end by an irresistible wave of public passion, and that the state courts failed to correct the wrong, neither perfection in the machinery for correction nor the possibility that the trial court and counsel saw no other way of avoiding an immediate outbreak of the mob can prevent this court from securing to the petitioners their constitutional rights."

This decision establishing the principle that a trial dominated by a mob is not due process of law has become the guide post and has replaced the Frank case. It has been cited numerous times in important cases, including the famous Scottsboro cases, and has outlawed trials by mob violence.

A precedent extending the requirements of due process of law to the question of a confession secured by violence was established in the "Brown, Ellington and Shields Cases". *Brown v. Mississippi*, decided in February, 1936. Three Negro farm laborers, Ed Brown, Henry Shields and Yank Ellington, were convicted of murder in DeKalb county, Mississippi, in 1934. The only evidence against them were confessions obtained by force and violence. When arrested Ellington was hanged to a tree in an effort to make him "confess", which he eventually did. The marks of the rope were still on Ellington's neck at the trial and the deputy sheriff admitted his part in the torture. In response to an inquiry as to how severely he beat Ellington, he stated: "Not too much for a Negro; not as much as I would have done if it were left to me." Two others also admitted the beatings—not a single witness denied beating the men.

The conviction was affirmed by the Mississippi supreme court and a petition for certiorari was granted by the U. S. supreme court where the conviction was reversed and a new trial granted. Mr. Chief Justice Hughes in the opinion for the court declared:

> "The rack and torture chamber may not be substituted for the witness stand. . . . The duty of maintaining the constitutional rights of a person on trial for his life rises above mere rules of procedure, and whenever the court is clearly satisfied that such violations exist, it will refuse to sanction such violations and will apply the corrective."

Jury Service

The association has also challenged the exclusion of Negroes from grand and petit juries. Precedents have been re-established enforcing the principle that the trial and conviction of a Negro by a jury of whites, upon an indictment found and returned by a grand jury of white persons, from both of which juries all qualified Negroes have been excluded solely on account of race or color, is a denial of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth amendment to the Constitution.

The point was raised in the Elaine, Ark., cases and was again raised in *Hollins v. Oklahoma* decided by the supreme court in 1935 in a memorandum opinion. Jess Hollins was convicted in Sapula, Okla., in 1931, of rape and sentenced to die. He had no lawyer and no lawyer was appointed for him. Three days before his execution the N.A.A.C.P. was called into the case and secured a stay of execution. An appeal was taken to the supreme court of Arkansas where a reversal was secured on the ground that qualified Negroes were excluded from the jury which tried Hollins.

The next case on jury exclusion was *Hale v. Kentucky*, decided in April, 1938. Joe Hale was indicted for murder in McCracken county, Kentucky. His lawyers moved to set aside the indictment on the ground that the jury commissioners had excluded Negroes from the jury lists. He offered evidence that no Negroes had been on the juries in that county from 1906 to 1936 and that they were sytematically excluded.

Hale was convicted and sentenced to die. His conviction was affirmed by the court of appeals of Kentucky and the case was carried to the U. S. supreme court by the N.A.A.C.P. The decision was reversed in a per curiam opinion which stated:

> "We are of the opinion that the affidavits, which by the stipulation of the state were to be taken as proof, and were uncontroverted, sufficed to show a systematic and arbitrary exclusion of Negroes from the jury lists because of their race or color, constituting a denial of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed to petitioner by the Fourteenth amendment.

Segregation Ordinances

Commencing about 1910, a wave of residential segregation laws swept the country. City after city in the southern and border states passed ordinances, the purpose and effect of which were to keep colored people from invading the areas which hitherto had been restricted to white residents. All of these ordinances prohibited whites from living in colored districts and on their

face purported to protect colored people as well as white, but, of course, no one for a moment believed that they were anything but the initial step in an attempt to create Negro ghettos throughout the United States. Ghettos mean crowding, poor lighting and worse sanitation, and the resultant higher delinquency and crime rates, greater infant mortality and higher death rates from tuberculosis and the other infectious and contagious diseases.

More than a dozen cities, among them Baltimore, Md.; Dallas, Tex.; Asheville, N. C.; Richmond, Va.; St. Louis, Mo.; and Louisville, Ky., within a year passed such ordinances; these differed in detail, but all aimed at the same result. The constitutionality of a number of these were tested and generally were upheld by the state courts.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, convinced of their unconstitutionality and illegality, made a careful test of the ordinance passed in Louisville, Ky., and carried the case to the supreme court of the United States. This case became known as the "Louisville Segregation Case", *Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U. S. 60, decided November, 1917.

Buchanan brought an action for specific performance of a contract for the sale of certain real estate in the City of Louisville. The defendant by way of answer set forth that he was a Negro and by virtue of an ordinance of Louisville would be unable to occupy the land in a white block. The plaintiff alleged that the ordinance was in conflict with the Fourteenth amendment of the United States Constitution. The court of appeals of Kentucky held the ordinance valid.

The ordinance prohibited whites from living in Negro districts and Negroes from living in white districts. Violation of the ordinance was made a criminal offense.

The U. S. supreme court reversed the decision of the Kentucky court of appeals and held the ordinance unconstitutional. Mr. Associate Justice Day, in the opinion for the court stated:

> ". . . it is said that such acquisitions by colored people depreciate property owned in the neighborhood by white persons. But property may be acquired by undesirable white neighbors or put to disagreeable though lawful uses with like results . . . We think this attempt to prevent alienation of the property in question to a person of color was not a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state, and is in direct violation of the fundamental law enacted in the Fourteenth amendment . . . "

This precedent struck down these ordinances, but several cities continued to enforce them until it became necessary to carry two more cases to the supreme court. The "New Orleans Segregation Case", *Harmon v. Tyler*, decided in 1926, was disposed of by the court with the short memorandum: "Reversed on the authority of Buchanan Warley, 245 U. S. 60." The "Richmond Segregation case," *City of Richmond v. Deans*, was likewise disposed of by the supreme court in 1930 by affirming a decision of the lower court declaring the Richmond ordinance unconstitutional.

These cases have clearly established the principle that segregation ordinances by municipalities are "state action" within the meaning of the Fourteenth amendment and are therefore a denial of the equal protection of the laws and unconstitutional and void. However, it has been held that property owners' covenants by individuals against transfer of property to Negroes in certain neighborhoods is not "state action" and therefore is not controlled by the Fourteenth amendment.

In the case of *Corrigan v. Buckley*, decided by the supreme court in May, 1926, an appeal to the court from the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia was dismissed for want of jurisdiction. The case was a suit in equity to enjoin the conveyance of certain property in Washington to a Negro because thirty white owners of the property in that neighborhood had made mutual covenants not to sell their property to Negroes. The property in question was included in the mutual covenants.

The defendants alleged that the covenants were unconstitutional and violated the Fifth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments. The Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia denied that the covenants were void. The supreme court held that the covenants did not violate these amendments to the Constitution and therefore dismissed the appeal for want of jurisdiction.

Educational Opportunities

For several years the N.A.A.C.P. has been maintaining an active campaign to secure the ultimate goal of equality of educational opportunities for Negro youth along with other citizens of the United States. The first clear statement of the law by the U. S. supreme court on this question was established in the "University of Missouri Case," *Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada et al*, decided December 12, 1938.

Lloyd Gaines, a qualified Negro, was refused admission to the University of Missouri law school solely because of his race or color. Asserting that this refusal constituted a denial by the state of Missouri of the equal protection of the laws in violation of the Fourteenth amendment, he brought an action for mandamus to compel the university to admit him.

The registrar urged him to accept a scholarship by the state to a law school outside the state of Missouri. Gaines refused to do so. The University of Missouri defended the mandamus action on the ground that eventually Lincoln university (the Negro college of Missouri) would offer a law school and in the meantime scholarships for Negroes to law schools outside the state would offer equal educational opportunities. The petition for mandamus was dismissed and this ruling was affirmed by the supreme court of Missouri.

A petition for writ of certiorari was granted by the U. S. supreme court and the case was argued. The case was reversed by the supreme court in a memorable decision. Mr. Chief Justice Hughes, in the majority opinion, declared:

> ". . . The admissibility of laws separating the races in the enjoyment of privileges afforded by the State rests wholly upon the equality of the privileges which the laws give to the separated groups within the State. The question here is not of a duty of the State to supply legal training, or of the quality of the training which it does supply, but of its duty when it provides such training to furnish it to the residents of the State upon the basis of an equality of right . . ."

This precedent establishes the test for all educational facilities in the country and applies to nineteen states and the District of Columbia maintaining separate schools for the races in the section of the country where almost 80% of the Negroes live.

The opinions in these cases define the constitutional rights of the Negro as a citizen. In addition, they broaden the interpretation of constitutional rights for all citizens and extend civil liberties for whites as well as Negroes.

The activity of lawyers acting for the N.A.A.C.P. has added to the body of law on civil rights for all Americans. The association, by pressing these cases, has brought nearer to realization the ideal embodied in the quotation engraved over the Supreme Court building in Washington, D. C.: "Equal Justice Under Law."

While it may be true that laws and constitutions do not act to right wrong and overturn established folkways overnight, it is also true that the reaffirmation of these principles of democracy build a body of public opinion in which rights and privileges of citizenship may be enjoyed, and in which the more brazen as well as the more sophisticated attempts at deprivation may be halted.

Southern Exposure

By E. Frederic Morrow

Colored people in the South are organizing in a militant manner to secure their citizenship rights and are being aided by progressive whites, declares this observer

IN the past 25 years the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has watched more closely than any other group, perhaps, the fight of the southern Negro to bring about another emancipation. The Association has participated in that fight. It has sent into this field organizers and lawyers to implement the efforts of those courageous local citizens who sought the light. The saga of this worthy crusade is one of heart-break and despair, suffering and death, defeat and victory.

The files of the Association give eloquent testimony to the slow, but determined advance made along a progressive front. Twenty years ago, the then executive secretary was mobbed in Austin, Texas. Even today, there is still in some sections the ever present threat of mob violence to those who would advocate equality of citizenship. However, the march of time has brought changes in the mental perspective of the South. And be they ever so slight, NAACP executives have detected these changes that have meant an impetus to the work of the organization in that quarter.

To what could one ascribe some of these changes? Undoubtedly, one factor is the structural make-up of the world itself, which every now and then produces a condition that presents an unlooked for opportunity to those humans having difficulty. And so when the depression struck the South, whether one's ancestors came over on the Mayflower or in slave ships, all found themselves in the same boat. This situation made possible in some quarters the organizing of whites and blacks into labor and sharecropper unions, and an immediate testing of the axiom that in union there is strength. So in some sections which were formerly impossibly dangerous and hostile to progressive Negro activity, we find colored and white men acting together on the question of bread and butter.

The most impressive thing in the South, however, is the growing realization of colored people that without organization to beget respect and understanding, to gain justice in the courts and protect life and limb and property, Negroes can have neither freedom nor peace. Even with wealth, they can be nothing more than rich serfs. And there is another conviction that, a voteless people is a hopeless people. And so at long last, the acceptance of this newer sense of values brings surprising shocks to northern visitors who are generally misinformed, or uninformed as to what has been going on there.

For Militant Program

The writer was not entirely prepared for the observations he made on a recent two months tour of Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas and Kansas. He had not expected to find such an earnest clamoring for a militant, yet useful and constructive program for advancement on the part of so many colored people. Nor had he expected to find men boldly expressing dissatisfaction with the status quo. This was news.

Four days were spent in Dallas and surrounding country. City life. Not much difference from any northern city. The people live well. More businesses than in the North, and contact with the whites is so limited that one temporarily dismisses fear of open strife and conflict. But of course segregation and discrimination are there. But militant Negroes are hammering away at these evils through the NAACP branch, the Chamber of Commerce, the colored newspapers, and the Independent Voters League. They are on the march—a forward one.

Then, on to Tyler by bus. To the rear of course, and over the wheels. Sea sickness is a pleasant feeling contrasted with the punishment received from a jolting bus as it crashes over the virgin roads of the Southland. But a sense of humor serves to lessen the damage. One can observe unkempt Mexican peons sitting in the forward part of the bus among better dressed whites. The Mexicans are legally white but actually brown. You see, they have a country and a government (as uncertain as it is) and then there is our vulnerable southern border, so there must be equality for the Mexican, though he be ragged and sweaty. But any well-dressed and well-behaved and deodorized Negro must be huddled in the back seat, aloof, away from the clashing smells of those who are accorded a whit of social equality.

Tyler and Kilgore, oil country! Wealth and poverty—progress and backwardness—education and illiteracy. But best of all, a handfull of fighting, uncompromising colored people.

Some Negroes benefited by the fabulous discovery of oil in that section. They, too, have been recipients of worldly goods far beyond one's fondest dreams. Some have benefited. Others have dissipated their newly achieved wealth—and the inevitable happened too—many were duped by wily whites into signing away their birthrights, or plunging their fortunes on gadgets and inconsequential baubles. A pity. There are two fine colleges in this area, and a unique institution—a barber college, enrolling students from far and near, who learn well the trade of barbering. Most of these students pass state board examinations without difficulty. A successful pioneering adventure.

Galveston, Houston, Beaumont and San Antonio have wide awake branches fighting courageously for citizenship rights for colored people along every front. No cowardice here. Zeal and a sense of values challenging to the northern Negro.

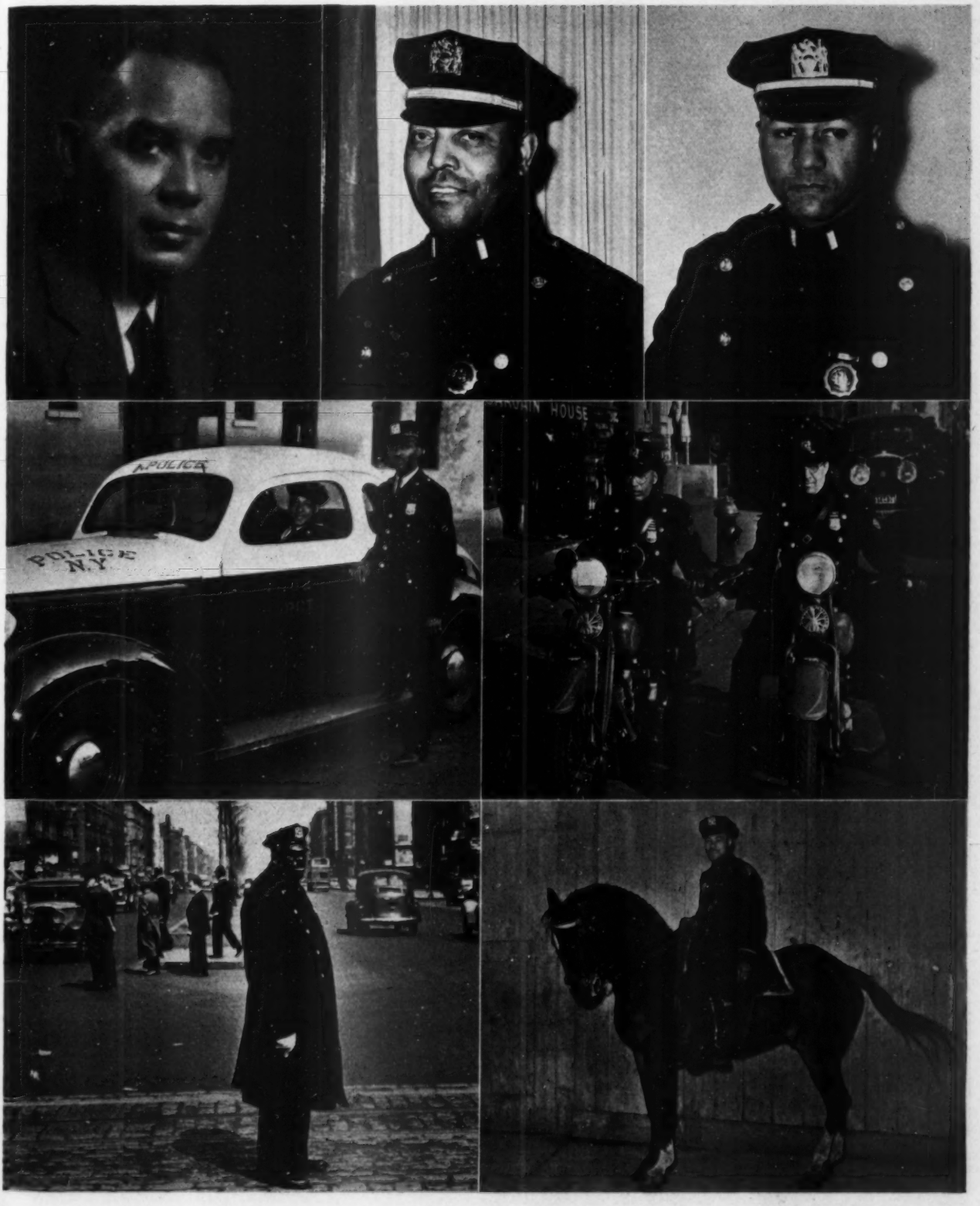
Corpus Christi

Down, down into the very depths of the state—Corpus Christi. The "Naples of America." Right on the Gulf of Mexico, this resort town was the last place one would expect to find courage and progress exhibited in the daily lives of black folk. Yet here were found more of those enviable human qualities than generally are witnessed in New York.

Here, one could soak into the soul the stuff of which men must reinforce their being if they are to be of real service to a downtrodden and persecuted people. At a mass meeting sponsored by the branch, the mayor attended and gave a fighting speech on tolerance and equal opportunity for colored people in the South. A white minister made an eloquent plea for memberships. The city librarian testified that the NAACP was an asset to democracy—a necessary institution to every community. And at that same meeting the colored longshoremen's union reported 100% membership in the NAACP, as did the hotelmen's union. An unique record.

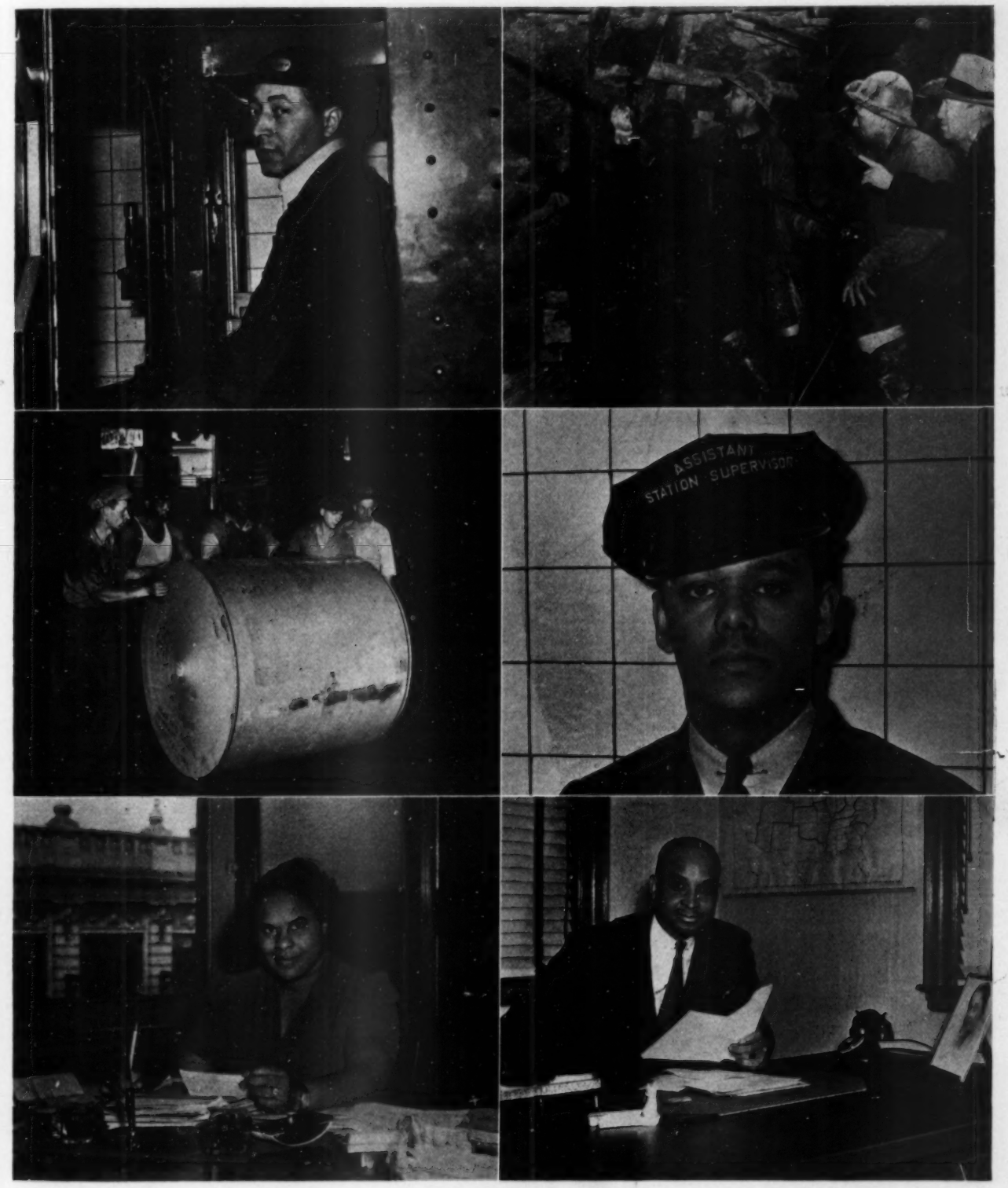
Across the Sabine river into Lake Charles and Shreveport, Louisiana. Here, the same story of colored people working earnestly and intelligently in the branch. Discouragement at times of

(*Continued on page* 210)



New Yorkers in the Police Department: *left to right, top, Rev. John H. Johnson, chaplain; Lieutenant Samuel Battle; Acting Lieutenant Lewis Chisholm; Officers Paul Lee (sitting) and John Jenkins, radio car patrolmen; Officers Charles Williams (left) and August Miller, motorcycle patrolmen; Traffic Officer Newton Lacy; and Officer Cecil Burke, only colored mountie. Picture of Battalion Fire Chief Wesley Williams on page 218; Police Surgeon Louis T. Wright on page 222.* *(All Photos on these pages by M. & M. Smith)*

New Yorkers relax: *left to right, top, Apollo theater chorus; Small's Paradise night club; the Club Mimo; a section of the crowd at the famous Savoy ballroom; a corner of the Schomburg collection in the 135th Street Branch of the New York Public Library; Harlem youngsters cooling off under a sprinkler—she is glad and he is mad* *(All photos on these pages by M. & M. Smith)*



Work, relief and security: *left to right, top, Jesse Covington, subway motorman; "scaling" operation by sandhogs building new Sixth Avenue subway: longshoremen on one of the big piers; Carl Madsen, Eighth Avenue subway: Mrs. Vivian Mason, administrator over about 150 employes in a district office of the Department of Welfare; George Cohron, administrator of Social Security office in Harlem*

More of New York and New Yorkers: *left to right, top, Maurice Moore, purchaser of all drugs for the City of New York (about 5 million dollars worth annually); Mrs. Carita Roone, director Harlem office, New York State employment service; lobby Harlem YMCA; lobby Harlem YWCA; clerical staff and main business office NAACP and* THE CRISIS. *All photos on these pages by M. & M. Smith*

Land of the Noble Free

By Layle Lane

A bus trip through the South gave a New York school teacher an intimate glimpse of life in Dixie and led to some interesting conclusions

ONE who has ever read of New Orleans and its French quarter or San Francisco and its Chinatown has a keen desire to see these old-world areas in their new-world setting. The knowledge that reality is never quite as glamorous as imagination does not lessen the eagerness for visiting nor the delight in being in these places.

A leave of absence from my school duties gave me an opportunity to do some of the things I have always wanted to and to see a fairly large portion of the United States. From September to the middle of November I remained on my farm near Doylestown, Pennsylvania, engaged in many of the farm tasks of the autumn season. Except for the intense activity of the Republican machine to defeat the Earle administration one was as detached from the struggles of national and international affairs as if on another planet. As soon as I started on my travels the situation was quite different.

Not only was I able to see New Orleans and San Francisco, but also en route and back, Roselle, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, Greensboro, Charlotte, Atlanta, Tuskegee, Montgomery, San Antonio, Austin, El Paso, Grand Canyon, Boulder Dam, Los Angeles, Yosemite Valley, St. Louis, Memphis, Delta Cooperative Farm at Rochdale, Mississippi, the TVA and Washington where human problems were very pressing.

Except in places that had scenic attraction mainly, I remained in each city a week or ten days, sometimes longer. The local Y.W.C.A., where I stopped, unless it was crowded or there was none, was a source of information about current conditions among colored people for it was usually the headquarters of an employment agency, WPA classes, club meetings and social affairs. Additional information about educational and labor conditions was secured by visiting three or four schools in each place, a church or two, the Urban League, N.A.A.C.P., a local of the Pullman Car Porters, if any of these were established; attending labor union and Workers' Alliance meetings when possible, and generally talking to any and everybody who could give me information of the rank and file.

An indirect source of information about "our folks" was my mode of travel. I journeyed the cheapest and most disagreeable way—by bus. Yet there are two advantages: bus routes, through many of the attractive sections of town and country—their frequent stops, ofttimes in small places, enable one to see folk at work and at leisure, to catch snatches of their talk and to learn more intimately than in any other way the habits of a people. The second advantage is that bus travel offers, in the South, as accurate a gauge of the status of the masses of colored people as any other single evidence. That evidence is not at all encouraging.

The "New South"

Aside from historical interest, my observations were directed by my own interests and curiosity. I wanted to see for myself labor conditions among Negroes in various parts of the country; and in the South, to learn how new was the "New South" I had been reading about. Obviously my investigations were diffuse and perhaps not deep enough to warrant the discouraging conclusions that I reached; first, that the economic conditions affecting the masses are particularly bad; second, that the New South is just in its paper stage and will require militant action by both whites and Negroes to advance beyond that.

There were some encouraging signs—WPA classes which have helped to reduce illiteracy among adults a very great deal; the Resettlement and FSA rehabilitation projects; federal housing projects which were equally as well-built and attractive for Negro tenants as for white; organization of the unemployed in a few of the larger cities to demand more adequate relief as well as jobs; Delta Cooperative Farms where a group of Negro and white sharecroppers are endeavoring through the cooperative method to find a way to break down the sharecropping system. It was disturbing, though, to find here too much consideration for prevailing Mississippi opinion as to race relations. For instance I was there the Easter week-end and observed a sign on the store door—"Easter Egg Hunt—White Children 9:30 a.m.—Colored Children 3:30 p.m." Certainly tact has to be used in race relations, yet if the cooperative way is to succeed, children at least must be started in the right path. Even in slavery times white and Negro children played together and it is not too much to expect in 1939 a means to be found whereby they can grow up with the freedom from racial bias that most children have until corrupted by adults.

Another encouraging evidence was the organization of sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Early in April I attended one of the meetings of the STFU at Forrest City, Arkansas, and was amazed to see the fellowship and working together of the Negro and white farmers—two groups who have been considered the bitterest of enemies. The union needs educational workers, *especially* for its membership, and a number of Negro leaders who can get close to the problems of the tenant farmer.

The fight of the Maryland and Virginia school teachers for equalization of salaries is of the same heroic character as that of the sharecropper—though it is not carried on under such tremendous handicaps as the latter. The school teachers have state-wide organizations as well as the aid of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. When we can bring as much help to the problems of the Negro and white tenant farmer, conditions will truly be improved.

Outlook Discouraging

Despite these encouraging signs the outlook is still discouraging. Everywhere there are large numbers of unemployed in both racial groups—but a larger proportion among colored people. Relief is totally inadequate—in many southern areas consisting only of the distribution of surplus commodities. These are never of the kind nor the amount to provide an adequate diet. For instance, a family may be given ten pounds of meal—two doz. oranges—a pound of butter to last them for two weeks. Wages of eight to twelve dollars a week are considered good, and the WPA scale of nineteen to forty dollars per month for unskilled labor prevails for most Negro workers. Prejudice classifies skilled Negro labor as

unskilled in order to keep Negroes from either a higher wage or a chance for any supervisory positions. Labor unions under the New Deal were able to secure the provision that union labor would be used on government projects—a desirable advantage, but it has meant generally, except in CIO unions, that the Negro skilled worker has been barred from the union just as rigorously as before. In addition, the white vocational schools are turning out a number of graduates each year who are taken in the unions as apprentices, thus offering an excuse to exclude the trained Negro worker.

For young people there is even less than for the untrained adult. Except for a favored few, WPA with all its uncertainty offers the only hope for employment outside of domestic work. In St. Louis, I found that the boycott was being used on white merchants in Negro neighborhoods with more success than in other areas, and this has provided a few jobs for some. The boycott is a very good weapon but when it comes to jobs its must be directed to *creating more jobs* rather than to displacing a white worker for a black worker. The need for work knows no color line and our fight for economic security must therefore be without the same color phobia that the white man so successfully uses.

The benefits of the New Deal—Unemployment Insurance, Social Security and the Wages and Hours Law—have been diluted by the requirement that states must enact similar legislation or in the case of the latter, by application only to interstate commodity production. In the South, the administration of these laws is in the hands of persons generally prejudiced toward the Negro so that the benefits to the group are further limited. As far as the Negro is concerned a New Deal Democrat is very much the same as the Old Deal. In many places, the only answer to my question as to the difference between them was "There isn't any at all; except the New Dealer tries to get Federal money in his area." As long as the Negro is dependent upon the good intentions of another and not upon the organized strength of all workers his situation will not change materially.

As a gauge of the New South, I found the situation in the little town in Georgia where I was born, indicative. Marietta is about twenty miles from Atlanta and has been and still is considered a "pretty nice town". When I was between two and three years of age, a threatened lynching in the town determined my parents to leave.

The fact that a lynching did not occur was due to the determination of leading Negro citizens who let public officials know that the law rather than mob action must prevail. A number of years later Leo Frank was lynched near the same town. Last fall, after a Negro murdered a farmer and his wife for whom he had worked, there was rioting for two days in Marietta. A colored school was burned—homes were destroyed and Negroes dragged from street cars and autos and beaten up. The entire Negro group was made to suffer for the wrong doing of one of their number. None of the whites who carried on the rioting was punished. The only satisfaction the Negroes had was that the local paper had printed an editorial vigorously denouncing lynching. Some were skeptical enough to believe the editorial was written as much to placate white tourists whose colored chauffeurs were molested as it was to condemn the mob-spirit. In nearly two generations the greatest advance in race relations is a decent and fair-minded editorial! That we are grateful for that shows the desperation of our condition.

Bus Travel Revealing

Even more is that condition revealed by bus travel. In the North and West almost invariably there is a sign indicating the last four rows are for smokers. There is no such sign in the South, but many of the smokers go to the rear as do all the Negro passengers. Negro babies and children must travel in smoke-ladened air and their parents are afraid to make a protest. Always white passengers are seated first and if there is no more room colored passengers are told to wait for the next bus—often a wait of several hours. As the front of the bus fills up to the back, colored passengers are asked to get up and sit further back and any objection is met with insult, threat of the law or actually calling of police officers.

Only in large cities is it possible to get a decent meal in the eating places provided by the bus company and then only under the humiliating condition of a separate and inferior place to eat. Often there is a window opening off the kitchen for colored travelers to order their food—to be eaten anywhere at all. The rest rooms in the small places are filthy and a positive health menace. Not once did I see any white traveler show any concern for the welfare of a Negro passenger—much less make any protest because of his inferior treatment.

Even in the educational field the fine pronouncements of editors and writers have very little effect in practice. Dr. Frank Graham who spoke so truly at the Birmingham conference that the Negro was the test of America's democracy and Christianity has not yet seen fit to use his influence to admit a Negro applicant to the University of North Carolina. Mrs. Roosevelt, for whom I have the greatest admiration for the splendid activities she has carried on in our behalf, said at the same conference that the enforcement of a segregation ordinance was a state matter.

We are so ready to bring Germany to task for her misdeeds, but we have "Hands Off" on our own doorstep.

The principal of the Thomas Jefferson high school in San Antonio, which has been praised widely throughout the country as one of our finest public schools, was very apologetic when I asked to visit the school and quoted the Texas law to me. The law states "No white person shall teach Negro children nor any colored person teach white children." I assured him that I had no desire to teach but only to visit his school and learn something of its curriculum. He was so afraid I might be embarrassed as well as the gentleman who was with me; although he practically suggested that if my escort would remain behind, he would be glad to show me the school. I refused such a compromise, instead asking that he tell me of their course of study. When he had finished his description, especially of the fine course in citizenship. I asked if he would accept some Negro magazines for use in the course. If white students learned more about Negroes we might begin to break down some of their prejudices. The principal stated he would be very glad to use them. The teacher of the course, in fact most of the staff, was northern trained and quite liberal. A subscription to THE CRISIS and to *Opportunity* was sent. What use was ever made of the magazines, however, is a mystery, for to date no word of acknowledgment has been received.

Organized Strength Necessary

Innumerable instances could be related of this gap between statement and practice, but these are not necessary for those who daily endure this gap. What to do is far more important. Right now we can strengthen such organizations as the Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P. and the Workers' Defense League so that their activities can penetrate the more vicious areas of prejudice and discrimination; we can organize both employed and unemployed into the labor unions in their field and make a fight against the prejudice in the unions; we can back up Negro teachers in their equalization of salary

(*Continued on page* 210)

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Editorials

Editor, ROY WILKINS
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Citizenship Rights and Sociology

DR. GUY B. JOHNSON, dean of the graduate school of the University of North Carolina, delivered the commencement address at Virginia State College, June 5. The complete text of his address is not at hand, but very full statements appeared in the Negro press, emphasizing Dr. Johnson's criticism of the N.A.A.C.P., especially its conduct of the campaign to secure equitable facilities in public education.

Because Dr. Johnson is an eminent student of southern life, and because he is not completely hostile to the N.A.A.C.P. program, his criticisms merit more than a passing reply.

From the newspapers, his observations may be summarized as follows: a) the N.A.A.C.P. has a militant program and has wrought well as a champion for race rights; b) although it has won many far-reaching decisions, it does not fulfill the requirements of an ideal agency because it fails to study the background of the localities where it pitches its battles, it fails to consider the consequences of the cases it fights, it falsely holds that political activity will be the solution to the race problem in the South and it was not realistic in pushing the Gaines case in Missouri.

The cases fought through to the United States supreme court are reviewed elsewhere in this issue. Most of them the association did not choose; they were thrust upon colored people by the circumstances of the moment. The famous Elaine, Ark., cases are in point. When shots were fired upon colored tenant farmers who were attending to their own business, attempting to devise a method of getting a better price for their cotton crops, there was no choice about battlefront or consequences. Seventy-nine men were railroaded to death and long prison sentences. Every guarantee of civil liberty in the Constitution and the federal laws was violated in the most flagrant manner. Men sat with rifles in the courtroom to see that the "proper" verdict was brought in.

Who shall say that this was a time to weigh and consider all the implications involved—to try to peer into future years and see whether or not this case should have been fought with every ounce of strength that could be mustered? After four years of legal battling all the men were freed—but more important than that, the frontier of civil liberties was extended for all persons. The dictum was handed down that a trial dominated by mob sentiment is not due process of law within the meaning of the Constitution.

Or take the Sweet case in Detroit. Here was a man merely exercising his right to purchase and occupy a home with his family. A mob gathers, violence ensues, the besieged and terrified family fires a shot in self-defense and a man is killed. The whole family, including a babe in arms, is locked up and charged with first degree murder.

Who can pick and choose a battlefront here? Who cares about the sentiment of the locality where this took place? Is a neighborhood mob of hoodlums to take the place of justice, human rights and the Constitution?

Or, take the Gaines case—obviously the chief case Dr. Johnson has in mind in making his comment. Here was the State of Missouri whose record of fair and equitable spending of school funds can be gauged by the fact that it received in a recent year some $405,000 from the federal government for various types of education and allotted to Negro education roughly $3,000 of the federal funds. Here was a state which in 1921 directed by legislative act that its state Negro "institute" be made a college, but appropriated not a cent to bring about this transformation, with the result that it was not until 1935 that the college attained its rating. A Negro boy who finished college and wanted to study law at the only tax-supported law school in the state was denied at the University of Missouri because of his color.

Instead of not surveying the field, the N.A.A.C.P. did just the opposite. Missouri is a border state. Negroes vote there. Two Negro legislators have been in the state capitol in recent times—the first in the 1920's. On three sides Missouri is bounded by Kansas, Iowa and Illinois. It has a great liberal newspaper, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. What better place to pitch a battle?

What were the consequences? If we lost, Negro young people would be no worse off than they were before. The issue was as plain as a pikestaff and the result was hardly in doubt from the drawing of the first petition. Judge O'Dunn, of the Baltimore City Court, saw the issue clearly in 1935 and ruled against the University of Maryland in the Murray case. The Maryland Court of Appeals sustained him and Murray attended the university. But Missouri preferred to go to Washington and thus embarrass fifteen other southern states.

There is the real consequence—the embarrassment of states like Dr. Johnson's own North Carolina. This was the consequence that the N.A.A.C.P. failed to consider—and why should it? The southern states have been uniform, until recently, in failing to consider the welfare and aspirations of Negro youth. Likewise they have ignored and flouted the Constitution. With the possible exception of North Carolina, they have moved to improve Negro education only after being goaded or begged.

The figures do not support Dr. Johnson's assertion that the "South has proved that it is willing to pay for separate education." Salaries for Negro teachers in 1930 were only 47% of the salaries paid white teachers, whereas in 1900 they were 65% of the white salaries. There are nearly 250 counties in the South without high schools for Negroes. Georgia spent a million dollars in one year for bus transportation for rural children, *only $500* of which was spent for Negro children! Not a single state provided any graduate or professional training for Negroes.

No, the N.A.A.C.P. considered the consequences carefully. The South needed a reminder that its procedure was not in accord with the American ideal. The Gaines case was that reminder. These court opinions may come as a jolt to some, but they served to educate both whites and Negroes.

One of the functions of the N.A.A.C.P. is to explore the violation of these constitutional rights and to attack with the idea of setting up a protection in law against the violation. This it did in the Gaines case, in the Grandfather Clause case, the Louisville Segregation case, the Texas Primary cases, etc. The task of adjustment is upon others—primarily upon those who have been thus rebuked and restrained.

The N.A.A.C.P. does believe that the exercise of the franchise by the Negro in the South will go far toward adjusting inequalities. If this were not so, why is every attempt to vote fought equally as bitterly by Klan hoodlums as by upper class white southerners? If it would not aid the Negro to have the vote, why is it withheld from him?

The N.A.A.C.P. realizes that changes are not brought about overnight, but it knows, too, that the only basis for equitable adjustment is the recognition by both sides of a standard of justice. In the ever present interracial situation that standard cannot be the whims or traditions or prejudices of Madison, Wis., or Mobile, Ala., of Rutland, Vt., or Raleigh, N. C. It must be, insofar as we can make it so, the Constitution of all the people of the United States.

Southern Exposure

(*Continued from page 202*)

course, because not more people will join with them in achieving this second emancipation. Yet, plodding on, because of that inner faith that sometime, somehow, their zealous work will bear real fruit.

Race feeling was high in Texarkana, Ark., because of the alleged assault of a colored lad upon a white woman. One night the jail had been surrounded by a mob, and there was still talk of violence in the town. Despite these disturbing conditions, a spirited meeting was held. The morale of the people was high, and one of the leading spirits of the occasion was the president of the branch, a school teacher. It is always inspiring to witness this kind of leadership coming from one who must depend upon the whims of a white board for his job. And yet, the whole history of the NAACP is studded with examples of people in public life and jobs who have put their necks on the block to prove a principle.

Colorful Oklahoma

Oklahoma holds real romance for any traveler. A comparatively new state, Indian territory, oil, and other visible features of an area that has written such a colorful chapter in the history of our nation. It has the best organized group of branches in the whole nation-wide set-up of the Association. The answer to this is, the fearless editor of the Black Dispatch, the leading colored newspaper in the Southwest. It was sheer joy to go from one small town to another and find a strong functioning unit of the NAACP. This fearlessness is so typical of this new American country.

The little town of Idabel, Okla., has a total population of perhaps 3,000. There may be as many as 700 colored people in the town. Yet this village boasts of an unique character. A colored dentist, who is president of the branch, and whose practice is so phenomenal that it has become legend. His patients are white and black—but predominantly white. They come from hundreds of miles around, and across several states. He has two office assistants, and opens his office at eight in the morning, and generally closes at eleven or twelve at night. Patients are given numbered cards when they walk in so that there will be no question of preference in a state where segregation is the law. This busy man gives freely of his time and money to all progressive programs in the interest of his people.

In the same little hamlet is a wealthy colored man who owns one of the largest cotton gins in the state. He employs many men, and is a real asset to the community. And there are several well-off farmers with large producing farms and land.

The long trip back home was one of happy reminiscences. These observations had been interesting and inspiring. Neither books, nor talks, nor letters, nor dreams can give one that kind of education. Meeting people first hand, seeing their problems, living with them, sharing their hardships, applauding their progress and courage, opens new vistas of enjoyment, and produces a deeper and fuller life.

South to Free North?

The impressions gained provoke many questions that only that universal solvent, TIME, can answer. But is it naive to wonder if it is true that minority groups thrive under oppression? This is a dangerous thought of course—but it in no way condones oppression and its damnable insinuations. It appears that people see clearer, and hold dearer, ideals when they are farther away. In the South, the Negro is faced with the daily task of living, and he has to do something about it. In the North, many spend too much time being free, and not enough time clinching the alleged freedom to which they are heirs. Would it be too queer to see the day arrive in America when the southern Negro would have to work for the freedom of his too smug and self-satisfied northern brother?

This question takes on added significance when one looks about the metropolitan area and witnesses such an apathy on the part of colored people to progressive race agencies trying to beget their interest and support. In these Eastern states we find civil rights laws on the statute books that fail to accomplish their purpose. We find colored people still living under the assumption that the North is "free", despite the increasing records of black slavery uncovered weekly. With the exception of climate, is there any noticeable difference between the North and the South as regards colored people?

And so, the challenge is there. This attempt at a second and final emancipation cannot be a sectional effort—but a national one. All over, colored people must learn that even if the day comes when we realize all the things the NAACP is fighting for, we must then fight like fury to hold on to what we have obtained.

That this thinking has penetrated some sections of the South is more than heartening. The last municipal election in Miami when Negroes voted despite visible warnings from the Ku Klux Klan, serves notice that black men will risk death for life, when they can clearly see that it is preferable to slavery.

Let us ponder the words of Benjamin Franklin, that: "If you would be sheep, the wolves will eat you!"

Noble Free

(*Continued from page 208*)

fights and struggle for the enforcement of the Gaines decision.

There are many other specific things we may do which will all resolve themselves into militant struggle under wise and far seeing leadership. The trained Negro must find a way to link his sharpened intelligence to the strength of numbers of the masses and to break down the superficial barriers which now divide the two. A program of social and economic well being far in advance of anything offered by the New Deal must be developed; and a joining with white workers in forging a political party which will put this program into action. Above all, the Negro must not be satisfied with what he has now and vote in 1940 in the fear he may lose that little bit, but must envision a larger life which his labor power and his militancy can secure for him.

NEW HOUSING PROJECT FOR COLUMBUS, GA.

The city of Columbus, Ga., was assured a million dollar increase in its 1939 residential building program when Nathan Straus, Administrator of the United States Housing Authority, approved a base bid recommended by the Columbus Housing Authority for construction of the "Booker T. Washington Apartments" to rehouse families from the slums in new, low-rent dwellings. There will be 288 new dwellings in the project.

HISTORY OF NEGRO REVOLTS

By C. L. R. JAMES

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Good Riddance

The Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*

LITIGATION in Oklahoma about Negro voting has a longer and more bitterly fought record than in most Southern States. There were two major cases in the 1920's lasting from 1924 until 1927, involving the right of Negroes to register and vote, both of which resulted in the defeat of party and State officials who had sought to bar Negroes from the polls.

But Oklahoma has had, in addition, a statute covering registration which did not apply to persons whose ancestors were eligible to vote prior to 1866 but did require others to register within a specified 12 days. The law was originally adopted in 1916 and was re-enacted in 1932.

This is the statute which the Supreme Court has now declared unconstitutional by a six to two vote (Justice Douglas not participating and Justices Butler and Reynolds dissenting). As viewed by the other six Justices, including Justice Black, this statute seemed a direct outgrowth of the grandfather-clause school of reasoning and, because of the nature and sharpness of its discrimination, clearly in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment.

The decision will not surprise anyone who has followed the long series of cases in which the Supreme Court has invalidated one racial discrimination after another. Upon whatever bases the authors of these statutes assumed that they could rest, they were all designed, as everyone knew, to keep Negroes away from the ballot boxes. For many years the statutes succeeded.

But with perhaps an exception here and there—though we are not sure that there has been a single one—the Supreme Court has held in every case reaching it that the discrimination was too evident to pass muster. No important body of legal thought has found any objection to the reasoning of these decisions.

In the present decision, Justice Frankfurter noted that under the registration act now invalidated Negroes were "perpetually disfranchised" if they failed to register during the twelve days in 1916 which the act allotted for the completion of this decisive formality. The "perpetual" disfranchisement of any element of the citizenship not constitutionally debarred from the voting privilege in perpetuity, is an intolerable monstrosity and has no place in the code of any American state. Invalidation of the Oklahoma "perpetual" disfranchisement is good riddance.

Latest reports from Mississippi of the hot-iron torture lynching of Joe Rodgers, lumber worker and respectable citizen of Canton, because he objected to a $5.50 weekly deduction from his pay, should be a warning to Negroes not to let up in their fight for a Federal anti-lynching law.

This horrible lynching occurred over a month ago, yet, because of the terrorization of colored citizens, news of it is just now reaching civilization. All the sheriff and the mayor have done is to warn Negroes to keep their mouths closed.

During the last Senate filibuster, Southern Senators stood on the floor of the Upper House and swore that the States could and would stop the crime of lynching.

Since that time, several more Negroes have been done to death, and not a single lyncher has been convicted. Indeed, two white brothers in Daytona Beach, Fla., who shot to death a Negro taxi driver last April have been set free.

The States will not stop lynching. So it is up to the Federal government to stop it.

The Federal government will not act unless a Federal anti-lynching law is passed.

We must not rest; we must not grow weary in this fight, until the swift hand of Washington can speedily descend on every lyncher everywhere. . . .—Pittsburgh, Pa., *Courier*.

More and more the supreme court can be depended upon to decide cases involving the rights of Negroes on the facts and on the law without hairsplitting technicalities. The latest decision, written by the recently appointed Justice Frankfurter, deals with the Wagoner county, Oklahoma vote denial.

In part this willingness of the high court to do justice to Negroes is due to their asking it. While the many still act on the theory that "nothing can be done about it," the courageous few believe anything worth doing should be attempted, and they are succeeding.

All the rights men have were won in this same slow laborious fashion. First a law more or less idealistic, then its enforcement. Without demand from somebody the second step would never be taken. . . .—Kansas City, Mo., *Call*.

In a brilliant article in the current issue of *New Masses*, William Pickens of the N.A.A.C.P. indicates how utterly foolhardy it is for Negroes to believe that they can help themselves by joining the chorus of damnation against the Jews. . . .

. . . Any honest thought on the problem would lead inevitably to the conclusion that neither the Negro or the Jew can afford to hate anybody, and least of all, each other. Racial hate is a poison in itself and its presence in any age has always resulted in widespread disaster. . . .—Detroit, *Michigan Chronicle*.

The United States Supreme Court decided last year that Missouri would have to provide professional education for her Negroes equal to the professional education offered to the whites. . . .

Why can't Missouri see what Kansas has seen for 70 years—that it is cheaper to remove old Jim Crow than it is to keep him in the luxury in which Missouri sustains him. The number of Negroes who go to the professional schools in Kansas is negligible. The cost is so small that the average taxpayer does not feel it. But because Missouri has a Jim Crow phobia, if the job of professional education for colored youth is honestly done, it will cost millions of dollars to equalize the opportunities of professional education between the whites and the colored people in Missouri.

What a tax we pay for our foolishness, for our prejudices, for our inferiority complexes! Inferiority complex is exactly what it is. Why does a white man feel that he can not associate on terms of some sort of social equality with the colored man? The white man is afraid that his own qualities would not make him quite the equal of every black man. What a spiritual cancer that is, to be gnawing on a man's heart! . . .—Emporia, Kansas, *Gazette*.

Disturbance in Haiti

By Julio Pierre-Audain

The moves of President Stenio Vincent have aroused the neighboring black Republic of Haiti. One of the dissenters to the present regime voices here his objections

IN order to understand the actual conditions in Haiti, it is necessary, even indispensable, to glance rapidly over its past. Haiti, the only collection of black people throughout the Americas that forms a free and independent nation, the second Republic founded in the New World, is a country essentially democratic.

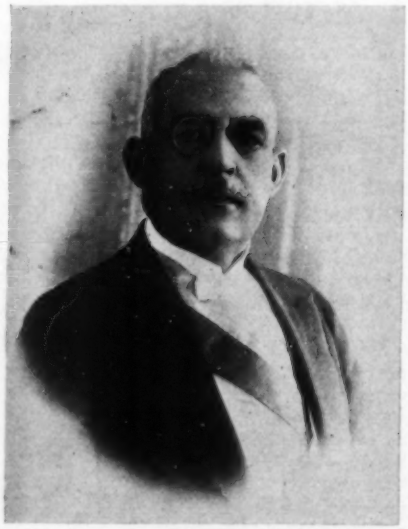
The Haitian is by nature proud and free and bears tyranny and dictatorship with difficulty. The real trouble with the various chiefs of state of this little country in the Caribbean who were in power from 1804 until the present time has always been their desire to control the people as though they were slaves, doing away with their national traditions and nullifying their true aspirations.

In fact, it was the violence and the injustice of the white rulers which caused the various revolts and brought about the general revolution of 1803. From this time, Haiti, as a nation, evolved. It was also the tyranny of the Emperor Dessaline which gave birth to the Republic of Petion. Thus from 1804 to the present time, Haitian history offers a heroic spectacle of a tiny black nation ever struggling for liberty and justice.

The Haitian people did not accept without a fight the American military occupation. From 1915 to 1920, there were two important revolts against this occupation. And after having offered armed resistance, the people, led by a group of patriots, decided to appeal to American public opinion to regain their sovereignty. At last, in 1930, thanks to the action of a young enthusiast and to the efforts of certain friends in the United States, and, also, helped by the American government's Good Neighbor Policy, Haiti once more was a member of the commonwealth of nations.

Upon regaining its sovereignty, the entire country, with a full sense of its responsibility to the black race, decided with humbled pride that by peaceful and orderly methods they would be sure of their success in the future and avoid the many misfortunes that befell them in the past. This explains the general election of 1930, and the Presidential election of November 18 of that same year.

The candidates in the presence of the National Assembly elected citizen Stenio Vincent, the most liberal man of his time who had been at one time minister and at another time senator, and later fought the American occupation.



HON. STENIO VINCENT
President of Haiti

From 1930 to 1934, the President gave several proofs of his well known liberality and was indeed the nation's favorite. But toward the end of 1934, President Vincent, for what reasons we do not know, radically changed his policy and intervened directly and forcibly in the legislative power. Eleven Senators were revoked, despite popular protest.

Carrying out his general Good Neighbor Policy, in August, 1934, President Roosevelt decided to relieve Haiti of the presence of the American marines. Carrying out such a project presented several difficulties. Economically, politically and from a military standpoint, the country was not in a fit state. We must say in passing that this lack of preparedness was due to the negligent policy of the marines, who, not expecting to leave this little paradise at such short notice, had not educated the people in the theory of self-government.

Under these conditions all conservative and patriotic factions with a desire to do away with anything which might cause trouble and disorder—factions that would at one blow destroy Haiti's dream of freedom—decided to cooperate with the President of the Republic in maintaining peace. Due to this fact, the task of government became relatively easy. He had only to profit by this general truce in order to organize the country. But far from following methodically and firmly this policy of social justice and economic progress which was the desire of the nation, he returned to the old tactics, "divide and rule" and started once more a period of anarchy, giving reign to the unprincipled at the expense of the better element.

The opposition leader to the President's dictatorial tactics, Congressman Joseph Jolibois, died in jail, which caused public opinion to accuse Vincent of illegally imprisoning this great leader and journalist in 1935.

As an answer to the dissatisfaction of the people, Vincent amended the Constitution and appointed himself for another term of five years.

Yet, the people accepted this as inevitable, expecting that the President after such an act would at that point direct his activities and pre-occupations to the interior politics and welfare of the country toward the solution of the economic problems. Unfortunately more scandals arose, all the administration going down into deep deficiency.

HARLEM ARTISTS GUILD MEMBERS HOLD EXHIBIT

Seventeen Negro painters and sculptors, members of the Harlem Artists Guild, held their annual exhibition at the WPA Federal Art Project's Harlem Community Art Center during the first three weeks of June.

The exhibitors include Henry Bannarn, Samuel Blount, Selma Burke, Chester Dames, Sollace Glenn, Ronald Joseph, Frederick James, William Johnson, Gwendolyn Knight, Norman Lewis, Francisco Lord, Frederick Perry, Robert Pious, Georgette Seabrooke, Florence Smith, Marvin Smith and Ellis Wilson.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Richmond Welcomes 30th Annual N.A.A.C.P. Conference

All is in readiness for the 30th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in Richmond, Va., June 27–July 2, inclusive. The Richmond branch has hung out the welcome sign and has prepared to entertain an unprecedented number of delegates.

The conference will open Tuesday night, June 27, in the huge Mosque when Judge William H. Hastie, and Samuel B. Solomon of Miami, Fla., will be two of the principal speakers.

The conference will be welcomed to Richmond officially by Mayor J. Fulmer Bright and Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Richmond branch. Officers and members of other Virginia branches who are joining with the Richmond branch in entertaining the conference will also be present.

The week will be occupied with discussions on vital political and economic questions affecting colored people, with the conference reaching its climax Sunday afternoon in the speech of Mrs. Roosevelt presenting to Marian Anderson the 24th Spingarn Medal for distinguished achievement. Mrs. Roosevelt's speech will be broadcast over both the National Broadcasting Company network and the Columbia Broadcasting System chain of stations. The broadcast will be from five until five-thirty p.m. eastern daylight saving time.

Mississippi Stages Torture Lynching

A special investigation by the N.A.A.C.P. brought to light the lynching of Joe Rodgers, lumber worker and Baptist church deacon in Canton, Miss., on May 8. Rodgers was brutally tortured with hot irons, shot, cut and his body thrown into the Pearl river. Rodgers' "crime" was his objection to the deduction of $5.50 from his pay check at the lumber mill. The mill deducted the amount for rent of a company house. Rodgers did not occupy the house and objected to paying rent, but the company officials informed him that they would take the rent whether he used the house or not.

News of the lynching was suppressed and the town officials of Canton threatened colored people and prevented information on the killing from getting out. The N.A.A.C.P. secured its first information anonymously and then had the information checked and verified by responsible citizens in both Canton and Jackson, Miss.

This lynching is the fifth of 1939 and has spurred a renewed demand for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law since it is evident that the state and local governments will not act against lynchers.

Meanwhile from Daytona Beach, Fla., comes news that Everett and Earl Blackwelder, who were identified as the slayers of Lee Snell, a colored taxi driver, have been freed of all charges. The constable who arrested Snell following an automobile accident and from whom the Blackwelders are alleged to have taken the taxi driver, and who identified the Blackwelders when the case first came to public notice, at the hearing conveniently "forgot" his first identification and said he was not sure the Blackwelders were the men.

Virginia Teacher Loses in Lower Court; Appeals

Following a three and one-half hour hearing in the circuit court in Norfolk, Va., June 1, Presiding Judge Allan R. Hanckel, denied a petition filed by Miss Aline E. Black, local high school

Executive board and 1939 conference committee chairmen of the Richmond, Va., Branch: *Back Row: Miss Florence E. Fields, music; E. C. Burke, treasurer; C. A. Jones, entertainment; Geo. B. Winston; Wiley A. Hall, broadcasting; Dr. J. T. Hill; J. S. Collins; H. H. Scott; Mrs. Mamie W. Allen; Miss Rosalie Britton, ushers; Front Row: Mrs. Rosa E. James; Mrs. M. M. Ransome; Mrs. Erma A. Harris, secretary; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president; Dr. W. L. Ransome, finance; Miss Martha A. Chiles, registration; Mrs. Elizabeth Coles Bouey; Mrs. Hestell V. Braxton*

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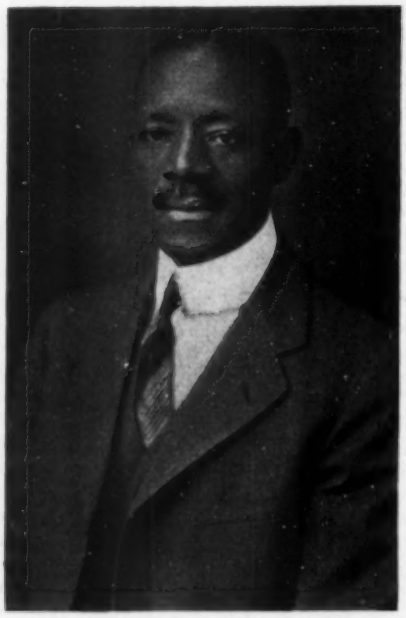

E. C. BURKE
Treasurer

teacher, which sought to compel the Norfolk school board to pay Miss Black and all other Negro teachers in Norfolk the same salary as white teachers with similar qualifications and doing the same type of work.

Judge Hanckel sustained a demurrer filed to Miss Black's petition for a writ of mandamus by City Attorney Alfred Anderson and his assistant, W. Old, Jr., and ordered the case dismissed.

In sustaining the demurrer, which means simply that while the City of Norfolk admits everything in Miss Black's complaint, it contends that she has no legal basis for the suit, Judge Hanckel commented that the case would go to the U. S. supreme court anyway.

Within a few hours after Judge Hanckel's decision Miss Black's attorneys: Thurgood Marshall, assistant special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Leon A. Ransom, of the association's national legal committee, and J. Thomas Hewin, Jr., of Richmond, Va., had completed their appeal for filing before the Virginia State Court of Appeals for a writ of error.

Oklahoma Voting Law Banned by Supreme Court

The attempt of the State of Oklahoma to dodge a United States supreme court decision in 1915 which outlawed the grandfather clause in its constitution was in turn outlawed by the United States supreme court, May 22.

In rendering its opinion in Lane v. Wilson, the court held that Oklahoma had an unconstitutional law in the 1916 statute requiring persons who had not voted in 1914 to register within a period of ten days or forever thereafter lose their right to register and vote.

The opinion, written and delivered by Mr. Justice Frankfurter, held that the 15th amendment to the Constitution "nullifies sophisticated as well as simple minded modes of discrimination." The opinion represented a 6–2 decision, with Justices McReyonlds and Butler dissenting and Justice Douglas not participating.

The case, which was carried to the high court by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, represents the twelfth victory out of thirteen cases carried to the supreme court by that organization. (*For detailed discussion of this and other cases see page 199 of this issue.*)

New White Primary Law

Following the failure on May 2 to intimidate Negro voters in Miami, Fla., the state legislature passed a bill which provides that the primary in Dade county, in which Miami is located, shall be limited to white voters. After some delay, the bill was signed by Governor Cone making it a state law.

Since the U. S. supreme court ruled in 1927 that a state law in Texas limiting primaries to white voters was unconstitutional, it is expected that the Florida law will be thrown out on the same ground. The N.A.A.C.P. has announced that it stands ready to assist any Negro citizen of Dade county who wishes to challenge the law in court.

Gaines Case Ruling Ignored by Missouri

The Legislature of the State of Missouri has enacted the Taylor bill which has become a law with the signature of Governor Lloyd C. Stark. By this act the state has almost completely ignored the ruling of the United States supreme court in the now famous Lloyd Gaines case. In the opinion on that case handed down December 12, 1938, the high court held that Missouri either must admit Lloyd Gaines to the law school of the University of Missouri or provide a law school of equal rank for Negro students within the state. The opinion also held that out-of-state scholarships did not give equal training within the meaning of the Constitution.

The Taylor bill provides merely that the curators of Lincoln University (the Negro college) are directed to make Lincoln university the equal of the University of Missouri. A companion bill to the Taylor bill appropriates $200,000

to bring about equalization. At the same time, the University of Missouri was appropriated three million dollars by the legislature.

Governor Stark signed the Taylor bill over the practically united protest of all the colored citizens in the state and many whites. The bill provides that until Lincoln university is made equal, the state will provide scholarships for Negro students to institutions in other states—in direct contravention of the supreme court opinion.

Meanwhile, the Gaines case was reargued in the Missouri supreme court May 22 by Charles H. Houston and Sidney R. Redmond and attorneys for the state. Both sides were directed to file briefs and no opinion had been handed down up to the time of going to press.

FBI Probes Klan

The activity of the Ku Klux Klan in attempting to intimidate Negro voters in Miami, Fla., during the May 2 primary is under investigation by agents of the Department of Justice, the N.A.A.C.P. has been informed.

Southern Branches Fight Health Discrimination

A continuing campaign against discrimination in public health programs, and for the improvement of the health of colored people was pledged in the resolutions adopted in Birmingham, Ala., April 23 at the closing session of the fourth Southern Regional Conference of branches of the N.A.A.C.P. Branches in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee were represented at the meeting.

The health resolution urged that state and federal funds for health work be allocated justly in proportion to the health needs of the Negro; that Negro doctors, dentists, nurses and social workers be employed on the staffs of public health bureaus and departments, and that Negro advisory committees be named by state and federal health agencies to assist with the Negro work. The resolution also urged safeguards in the new President's health program outlined in the recently-introduced Wagner bill.

In a vigorously worded resolution the conference urged Negroes "to demand the free right to vote in primaries as well as elections, the right to serve on grand and petit juries, the right to be free from police brutality, and the right to have equal accommodations on the common carriers of the nation." Continued support to the campaign for a federal anti-lynching law was pledged.

The keynote address of the conference was delivered by Dr. E. W. Taggart, former president of the Birmingham branch and now a national director of the N.A.A.C.P. Panel discussions on education, labor relations, problems of youth, constitutional rights, religion and economics, and race relations made up the program on April 22. J. L. LeFlore of Mobile and Dr. C. A. J. McPherson of Birmingham were re-elected chairman and secretary respectively. S. L. Belle is president of the Birmingham branch.

New York State Conference

The third annual conference of the New York State Association of Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. was held May 26, 27, and 28 in White Plains, N. Y., with the White Plains branch as host.

Included in the panel meeting were Miss Layle Lane, who has just completed a trip through the South; H. A. Tynes, New York State Director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History; Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the N.A.A.C.P.; and the presidents of several of the state branches.

James Egert Allen is president of the state conference.

Branch News

The **Long Branch, N. J.,** unit was host to the New Jersey State Conference of Branches at its annual meeting, Saturday, May 27, at the Second Baptist Church. An excellent program was rendered. Dr. David W. Anthony of Princeton was re-elected president for the coming year.

The **Roanoke, Va.,** branch held its regular meeting on May 19, at the headquarters of the branch. Plans were discussed for the coming membership drive. Also, details of the annual conference at Richmond were given. Many branch members and friends will attend the conference.

At its regular May meeting, the **St. Louis, Mo.,** branch adopted a resolution "opposing presidential consideration of Governor Stark for appointment to any cabinet vacancy that may occur."

Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., was a guest speaker for the St. James Literary Forum, **Cleveland, O.,** on May 21.

The **Keokuk, Ia.,** branch rendered a program at the Bethel A.M.E. Church on Sunday, May 21.

Committees were appointed at the regular meeting of the **Ossining, N. Y.,** branch on May 23. The charter was also presented at that time.

The **Akron, O.,** branch closed its city-wide membership drive with a mass meeting on June 18. The branch plans also to honor its high school graduates with a party during the month of June. A trophy will be presented to the student obtaining the highest scholastic average.

A second report of workers in the **Youngstown, O.,** annual membership campaign was made at the "Y" May 19. W. O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland *Call Post,* addressed a mass meeting, May 20.

W. B. Ewan, principal of the Grant School, was a guest speaker at the May meeting of the **Waterloo, Ia.,** branch. Delegates to the national conference at Richmond were elected.

Mr. James Pepples presided at a meeting sponsored by the **Davenport, Ia.,** branch, May 21, at the Third Baptist Church. The topic for discussion was, "Organization of Minority Groups for the Preservation of Democracy."

The **White Plains, N. Y.,** branch was host to the New York State Conference of Branches at its annual meeting, May 26–28. An interesting program was given, most of which was conducted in the Little Theatre of the County Center. Many prominent persons spoke at the various sessions of the convention.

The **Tacoma, Wash.,** branch held its annual membership drive during the month of May. The following were members of the membership committee: Dr. L. C. Bowling, chairman; Dr. E. E. Elmore, Rev. Browning C. Allen, Rev. William N. Monroe, Arthur L. Hayes, Robert Jones, Frank J Brodhead, James L. Beck, Mrs. Edna Moore and Mrs. Nettie J. Asberry, the latter being the treasurer.

Charles H. Houston, special counsel of the N.A.A.C.P. was principal speaker at a mass meeting opening the membership campaign of the **Philadelphia, Pa.,** branch, May 7.

The **Jamaica, N. Y.,** branch is demanding the removal of Dr. Samuel M. Levinson, who is principal of P.S. 40, contending that he permits the growth of student gangs at the school.

Enrollment of 150 new members was reported at the May meeting of the **New Orleans, La.,** branch. At the close of the drive the committee hopes to have added 2000 new members.

The **Houston, Texas,** branch held its regular monthly meeting on May 3, at the Odd Fellows Temple. Contestants competing for prizes in connection with the membership campaign made reports. Edward L. Snyder, promotional secretary, introduced a number of white visitors and explained the purpose of the organization.

The **Petersburg, Va.,** branch is in the midst of its annual membership drive.

The auxiliary of the **Orange, N. J.,** branch presented Miss Myrtle B. Anderson, Brooklyn attorney, as a guest speaker at its fourth annual tea at the Oakwood Avenue Y.W.C.A., May 7. Mrs. Cora Johnson is president of the auxiliary.

At its May meeting, the **Wilmington, Del.,** branch heard Elwood F. Melson, attorney, speak on "Racial Unity."

A trip to the New York World's Fair will be the first prize for the person obtaining the greatest number of new members during the 1939 drive of the **Akron, Ohio,** branch. The branch also held a splendid mass meeting on Sunday, May 14.

The **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch held its final spring meeting on Sunday, May 14, at the Simpson M. E. Church. The program was sponsored by the student chapter of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity of West Virginia State College. Dr. Raford Logan, of the Howard faculty, was guest speaker.

The N.A.A.C.P. board of directors on May 8 granted permanent charters to new branches at Ossining, N. Y., Grand Coulee, Wash., Spotsylvania County, Va., and to

the revived branches in Paterson, N. J. and Champaign-Urbana, Ill.

The officers of these new branches are: **Ossining, N. Y.**—J. F. Cheatham, president; Mrs. Minnie Nabors, vice president; Mrs. Mary E. Johnson, secretary, and Mrs. Ethel Brown, treasurer. **Grand Coulee, Wash.**—Marvin L. Powell, president; Frank Jones, vice president; Sylvester J. Lake, secretary; Samuel Scott, treasurer. The officers and members of this branch are workers and residents in the area of the great government project, Grand Coulee Dam. **Spotsylvania County, Va.**—Wilmore Watson, president; Preston Despot, Jr., vice president; James L. Terrell, secretary; Frank Stubbs, treasurer. **Champaign-Urbana, Ill.**—Grady Jordan, president; William Prince, Jr., vice president; Miss Blanche Jamerson, secretary; Miss Emma Herndon, assistant secretary; Alvin Foxwell, treasurer. The following are members of the executive committee: Rev. C. W. Doty, William Williams, Elliott Barnett, Rev. M. L. Porter, James Lawson, Dr. H. D. Ellis, Kenneth Clark, Richard Edwards, Mrs. Iva Saunders, Clifford Jones, Rev. T. E. Stoner.

The **Daytona Beach, Fla.**, branch was recently reorganized and conducted a campaign which resulted in 109 new members. The following officers were elected: G. W. Engram, president; B. W. Smith, vice president; Mrs. B. S. F. Tisdale, secretary; Mrs. Rebecca Smith, assistant secretary; T. L. Smith, treasurer. Members of the executive committee include Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, Dr. E. A. Graham, Rev. R. J. Jones, Miss Grace A. Brewer, Alonzo White, Rev. George O. Sumner, C. B. McGill, J. P. Thompson, and J. H. M. Whitehead.

The **Crawford County, Kansas**, branch recently completed reorganization and elected the following officers: Dr. I. F. Evans, president; J. D. Johnson, vice president; Mrs. Willa M. Goodwin, secretary; A. N. Wright, treasurer; and the following executive committee: Prof. C. B. Walker, Rev. J. T. Elias, Rev. A. Rayford, Clifford Weekly, Mrs. Rowena Miller, Hughie Wilson, Mrs. A. N. Wright and Harold Wright.

The **Bridgeton, N. J.**, branch of the N.A.A.C.P. has started a campaign to have Negro employees placed in the various grocery chain stores where the trade is predominantly Negro.

The group is also planning to establish a credit union as a step toward economic security for the race group in the south Jersey city of 17,000 inhabitants.

Membership Campaigns

The **Pittsburgh, Pa.**, branch closed its membership campaign with a total of $1259 of which $901 was raised by Division "A". Captains in this division and their totals were Mrs. Homer S. Brown, $291.50; Mrs. E. H. Robinson, $163.50; and Mrs. E. M. King, $102. Division "B" raised a total of $358.00 with W. A. Arvin accounting for $143.

The **Cleveland, O.**, campaign, conducted under the direction of Mrs. Lampkin, was a most successful effort with $1176 being sent to the national office.

Birmingham, Ala., secured 800 new members and sent $432 to the national office.

The **Kansas City, Mo.**, branch reported $506 to the national office, the **Richmond, Va.**, branch, which will be host to the conference, reported $1219 in membership money alone to the national office.

Boston, Mass., sent $622 to New York, and **Bryn Mawr, Pa.**, sent $326.

The **Detroit, Mich.**, branch is just concluding its membership campaign as this issue of The Crisis goes to press and a full report will appear in the August issue.

The annual membership campaign of the **Atlanta, Ga.**, branch resulted in approximately 800 members. The branch reported $694.00 in membership fees to the national office. Miss Hattie V. Feger was campaign chairman. E. Luther Brookes is president of the Atlanta branch; Miss Laura E. Duffy, secretary.

In **Richmond, Va.**, the first campaign reports totalled more than 1,500 members and $899.55 for the national office. The campaign was under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary.

The recently revived **Norfolk, Va.**, branch secured 335 members in its spring membership campaign under the direction of the vice president, Melvin O. Alston. Jerry O. Gilliam is president and Miss T. Ione Diggs, secretary of the branch.

Rev. Thomas A. Robinson was director of the membership campaign of the **Petersburg, Va.**, branch which resulted in 102 new members. Rev. Robinson, a member of the executive committee, also directed a very successful campaign in 1938. Other officers are H. E. Fauntleroy, president; Mrs. Ruth Butcher Rovall, secretary.

On April 16 the **Halifax County, Va.**, branch presented Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, N.A.A.C.P. field secretary, at a mass meeting in South Boston.

The following evening, April 17, Mrs. Lampkin spoke at a mass meeting in Danville, Va., in the interest of the membership campaign of the recently reorganized **Danville** branch. The new officers of the branch are: president, Martin A. Martin; vice president, Solomon Haley; secretary, Mrs. Bernice Williams; treasurer, Miss Lucy Price.

Youngest Member

JOHN EDWARD JONES

The youngest member of the Birmingham, Alabama, branch is aged six months, and the son of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Jones, of 512 10th Avenue, North

Youth Council News

Membership Drive at Virginia Union

At the close of the recent membership drive of the Virginia Union university chapter, thirty-seven members were added to the rolls. A number of these young people were delegates to the annual conference at Richmond.

Lincoln University Charter

The Lincoln university chapter of Jefferson City, Missouri was voted a permanent charter at the June meeting of the board of directors. Harold Lee Holliday, president of the chapter, has great plans for the fall.

Richmond Elects Officers

The newly elected officers of the Richmond, Virginia, youth council are: William Richardson, president; Alma Jackson, vice-president; Lillian Mann, secretary; Bessye Mann, assistant secretary; Ruby Coleman, corresponding secretary; Lillian Fields, treasurer; Mrs. Gladys Randolph, chairman of publicity; Edward Whitlow, membership chairman. These young people, together with all the members of the council, were responsible for the hearty reception accorded the delegates to the youth section of the annual conference.

Montclair Holds Youth Conference

The annual youth conference, sponsored by the Montclair youth council, was held at the Washington Street Branch of the YMCA recently. The theme of the conference was "Have Faith in Yourself—Go Forward."

Speakers were Rev. James H. Robinson, acting youth director of the N.A.A.C.P.; Bessie Nelms Hill, guidance director, Lincoln school, Trenton; Judge William C. Hueston, of Washington, D. C. Group leaders were Allan R. Devenney, Louise Bromley Oswell, and J. N. Williams, adviser to the youth council.

A special conference issue of the Youth Council Bulletin was published for the occasion. Auburn Peterson is

Delegates to the fourth regional conference of southern branches of NAACP held in Birmingham, Alabama, April 21–23

president of the Montclair youth council.

Tulsa Ends Successful Year

The Tulsa, Oklahoma, youth council closed one of its busiest and most successful years. Outstanding among its many activities were the picketing of the Dreamland Theatre for failure to live up to previous promises made to the council, the initiation of a civic betterment campaign, sponsoring of an industrial exhibit which won several awards in the state high school contest, and the conducting of a campaign to inform people of the work of the N.A.A.C.P. Every week in the local newspaper, an article is carried under the caption, "The N.A.A.C.P. Here and There." Joe Burns was elected to guide the council for the next year.

Organization Committees

Increased enthusiasm in the youth program of the association has resulted in the formation of many new councils throughout the country. Organization committees have been reported from Mercer County Branch, Sharon, Pa.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Harvey, Ill.; Tampa, Fla.; Greenville, S. C. College chapters are being formed at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.; Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.; Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga., and Sam Houston College, Austin, Tex. Newly chartered councils are: Wewoka, Oklahoma; Warren, Ohio (Trumbull County Branch); Pensacola, Florida, and Saginaw, Michigan.

New Youth Leaders

A number of councils which were organized in the spring held their annual election of officers recently. Among the new presidents who will carry on the splendid work of their predecessors are: John Vidal, New Bedford, Mass.; Bruce Weaver, Louisville, Ky.; Joseph Guinn, Chicago, Ill.; William Richardson, Richmond, Va.; W. J. Williams, Atlanta, Ga. (formerly of Jackson, Miss.); Auburn Peterson, Montclair, N. J., and Garrison Bowser, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Boston Closes Membership Drive

The Boston, Mass., Youth council closed a successful spring membership campaign recently. A large group of workers, under the leadership of Victor Bynoe, commander-in-chief, made possible a partial report of $138. Five hundred pre-campaign letters were typed and distributed by the members of the council, 500 subscription envelopes circulated, and speeches made before civic, religious, and fraternal groups. The youth council drive was run concurrently with that of the senior branch, under the direction of George B. Murphy, Jr., publicity director from the national office.

Chicago Holds Lecture Series

The Chicago youth council recently released a three-point study program for the remainder of the year, in the form of weekly lectures on timely subjects. The theme for the series is "March Forward" and the first section deals with the following phases of Negro History: The Negro Through the Ages, Beginnings of a Race, Before the Dawn, The Ascending of a Race, Post Civil War Negro, and Biographical Sketches. The lectures will be held in George Hall Library under the direction of George C. Moore, with Ina Richards as secretary.

The second series deals with Labor and Industry, as it relates to Negro youth, and lectures are announced as follows: There are a Million Jobs—But Do You Know of Them?, Four Young People Filling Jobs That Did Not Exist, Tapping the Hidden Resources of Our Community, and It Can Be Done—It Has Been Done. These lectures will be held at the Y.W.C.A., with David McDonald, chairman, and Laura F. Lucas, secretary.

The third series deals with Citizenship, and will be discussed under the headings: Civil Rights, Suffrage, Lynching and Police Brutality, What Shall it be—Hovel or Home?, Where Does Equality in Education Exist for the Negro? These lectures may be heard at the Mme. C. J. Walker Hall, with Robert McGee, chairman, and Ernestine Hoard, secretary.

Cleveland Tournament

The Cleveland, O., youth council inaugurated recently a novel way to publicize its activities and interest a large number of young people in the work of the organization. It sponsored and promoted a city-wide basketball tournament, interracial in character, and in this way touched many of the sport-loving youth of the city.

A committee composed of settlement house workers and athletic directors and headed by Carl V. Hawkins, boys' athletic director at the Playhouse Settlement set to work to interest the outstanding basketball teams of the city in the project. The response was overwhelming, nearly fifty teams being entered before the start of the tournament on March 29. These included such

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well-known teams as Muny League A winners and runners-up, and first and second place winners in the Downtown League, and teams from surrounding towns, notably the Lillys from Painesville, Ohio. The tournament was divided into four sections: Senior B for Older teams, Class C for teams with players from sixteen to eighteen years of age, Class D for teams with players aged fourteen and fifteen, and the Girls' Division.

The committee secured four beautiful trophies for presentation to the winners in the four divisions. The donors were as follows: Senior B trophy—Al Williams from the Log Cabin; Class C trophy—Fireside Mutual Life Insurance Company; Class D trophy—State Representative Chester K. Gillespie; and Girls' trophy—the House of Wills.

Robert E. Williams, in charge of publicity, was instrumental in getting daily publicity in all three of the metropolitan newspapers, as well as the weekly papers. Another committee under the leadership of Miss Ardelia Bradley arranged for a dance to follow the final games, held at the Elks' Gymnasium, on Friday, March 31. A local distributing company furnished the music without cost.

After two nights of preliminaries, held in the gymnasiums of the neighborhood settlement houses and recreation centers, a crowd of about 400 was on hand on Friday, March 31, to witness the final four games. They were well repaid for their enthusiasm as the competition was keen and the games were nothing if not exciting. The Senior B game climaxed the evening's events, bringing victory and a beautiful trophy to the Kent Sports, a team backed by Dr. Carl V. Kent.

Miss Bobby Lee Peterman, president of the Cleveland Council, presented the trophies to the winning teams. Rev. Grant H. Reynolds, president of the local senior branch, congratulated the youth council on its successful venture.

Book Reviews

KNOW THIS OF RACE. By Cedric Dover (Secker & Warburg, London). 109 pp. 75c.

Having established an international reputation as the historian of miscegenation with his memorable "Half-Caste", Mr. Dover now attacks the religion of racialism ravaging the earth. He does a very good job. He establishes the catholicity of his views at the very outset, saying:

> "The European Jews are being driven back to the ghetto in the name of race. The American Negroes are still confined to ghettoes in the name of race".

Forty of his 109 pages are devoted to "Race"; the remainder to "Racialism". Scholarly without being scholastic, he traces swiftly, deftly, wittily, and at times sarcastically, the long history of man's wrestling with this engaging mysticism. He marches through the bewildering jungle of corpuscles, genes, blood types, and so forth, watered by the sluggish streams of guesswork and supposition from which pseudo-science springs, and yet he never bores the reader. He is at all times the civilized man addressing a civilized, and therefore small, audience. Appropriately his attack on the ramparts of racialism is scientific rather than epithetical. He machine-guns with ridicule the "ies," "isms" and "ologies" masquerading as science. His sarcasm is sharp and deep—the thrust of the rapier rather than the gouge of the broadsword.

Of so-called race he says: "We can only belong to one species. We must dismiss attempts to treat the main colour groups as distinct species, because they are evidently inspired by political motives of the worst kind. . . . Man cannot be divided into races. Today all men are mongrels, all races are mixed races".

The lineage-proud nordics and "Aryans" are all more or less tarbrushed or touched by the Mongolian, and vice versa. The most vocal and obnoxious of the racialists have been the Germans. English and French, who are a human hash composed of every known tribe on earth. "The blacks", he says, "have undeniably shared in the development of the English population from early times to the present day".

"There are no half-castes because there are no full castes. There are only older mongrels and newer mongrels". Mixing, ancient and modern, has gone so far that "It is nonsense even to talk of group characteristics so innate that crossing leads inevitably to physical and mental disharmony".

The intelligence test hokum is deservedly dismissed with: "The best studies are tentative, the worst are born of ineptitude or fraud". *Homo sapiens* wherever he is found is basically the same.

Racialism to Mr. Dover is a social phe-

nomenon "essentially a product of capitalism and the class struggle", fluctuating in intensity in response to full bellies and lean. He proceeds at great length to develop this thesis, pointing out that where, as in Soviet Russia, the class struggle has been eliminated and property socialized, the old race prejudices have disappeared. "Today", says he, "the Soviet minorities are the only minorities without racialism and minority grievances". His discussion of the historical ups and downs of the Jews is objective and illuminating. "They know", he writes, "that the old technique of religious revision and group appeals must be replaced by active participation in the class struggle".

Mr. Dover assumes too much when he implies that racialism can only flourish under capitalism. It would perhaps be more accurate to dub racialism a concomitant of conquest. The Profit System is admittedly humpbacked with guilt of many things, but it is not the creator of racialism. At most it might be called the fertilizer that made it flourish as never before. Mr. Dover himself shows that race prejudice has in turn flourished under barbarism, ancient imperialism, feudalism and chattel slavery. What we call capitalism is not over 500 years old, and certainly the Indian color caste system antedates capitalism by a millennium and a half.

There is probably as little (and may be less) race prejudice in Brazil as in Soviet Russia, and yet the South American republic is a feudal-capitalist state while Stalin's preserve is allegedly communistic. Moreover, we know as yet too little of what is going on inside Russia to abandon caution and embrace it as a racial Valhalla. Revolutionary France was also without race prejudice for a time. The racial minorities in Russia are, for one thing, largely confined to so-called autonomous republics instead of living in the midst of the white population like the Jews, Negroes and others elsewhere. Then, too, having rid itself of one class system, Russia, according to many apparently reliable reports, is developing another based on job-holding which exhibits practically the same extremes in income and power as its predecessor, thanks to the expedient dumping of Marxian principles and the wild scramble for place and position. No one knows better than American Negroes how race prejudice can operate under varied camouflage.

Men are both attracted and repelled by the unlike in their midst, being at the same time curious and clannish. They quickly grow jealous of the success of the unlike and willing to consider them devils responsible for personal or group misfortune. Regardless of the social system this feeling is latent in the psychology of all, and there are, unfortunately, rogues ever ready to whip it to a froth for selfish advantage.

With those latter-day witch doctors, the anthropologists, who have bent Darwinism and Mendelianism to their purpose, Mr. Dover has great fun. His ridicule is also directed at their bastard offspring, the engenists, the ethnogenists and the whole pack of charlatans whose scribblings serve as textbooks for race baiting. Racialism is fostered chiefly by the mongrel Germans, English, Americans, French, and latterly by the Italians, and marches hand and hand with imperialism and exploitation. However, it is to be regretted that Mr. Dover did not dwell on the psychological aspect of racialism as an ego satisfaction of which the socio-economic expressions are the outward manifestations.

Mr. Dover is well-informed on racialism in America. "The end of ostensible slavery" he writes, "saw the beginning of highly rationalized Negrophobia. The Negro stepped from

(*Continued on page 221*)

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Book Reviews

(*Continued from page 219*)

the outhouse into the ghetto. . . . It was generally agreed that the blacks . . . must be kept in their place. The whites visited them there and often they strayed out themselves. They called on each other so frequently that it would now be a conservative estimate to say that twenty-five per cent of the American people is partly Negroid."

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The Negro and the Democratic Front. By James W. Ford. International Publishers, New York. $2.00

In The Negro and the Democratic Front, James Ford puts into book form, a collection of articles and addresses written by him during the past three or four years. Many of the utterances are those made during the political campaign of 1936 when Ford was running for a national office on the Communist ticket. This fact alone did much to dissipate the interest of the reviewer, since three-year-old political speeches remind one of cold scrambled eggs.

However, Mr. Ford's courage and sincerity are unchallenged. For more than a decade he has been a loyal disciple of Communism, feeling that it offered a practical way out to the American Negro from the snares of discrimination and persecution. He has enlisted many recruits, but has also frightened thousands of conservative souls who shun communism like a plague. But Mr. Ford has never wavered.

The title is an engaging one. And the work attempts to point out the relationship and importance of democracy to the future of Negroes in America. It believes the Negro has a true relationship with all the "progressive forces" in trying to establish and preserve real democracy.

Negroes especially should read this book. One can hardly be a friend or foe of Communism if he does not know and appreciate the fundamental aims and objectives of the party as outlined by Mr. Ford.

E. FREDERIC MORROW

MISS HARRIET PICKENS HEADS HARLEM COMMITTEE

On May 31 at a meeting of the Harlem Tuberculosis and Health Committee of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, Mrs. Ruth Logan Roberts, chairman, announced the appointment as executive secretary of the committee of Miss Harriet Ida Pickens. Mrs. Roberts announced also that Mrs. Anna J. Weir will continue with the committee as office secretary.

Miss Pickens started her new work June 15, resigning her position as supervisor of the recreation program maintained in nine local centers by the W.P.A. for the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the Police Department. Miss Pickens received her college preparation at P.S. 119 and Wadleigh high school and graduated in 1930 *cum laude* from Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts.

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—Income of $15,061,347.72
—Insurance in force: $288,963,070.00
—Policies in force: 1,643,125
—Ordinary Insurance: $80,106,234
—Industrial Insurance: $181,961,766.63.
—Health and Accident Insurance: $26,895,069.37
—Employment: 8,150 Negroes
—Policies issued and Revived in 1936: $174,112,773.00
—Increased business, 1936: $65,645,466
—Increase in policies, 1936: 251,047
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College and School News

(*Continued from page* 197)

Dr. John B. Lawrence, executive secretary-treasurer of the Southern Baptist Convention delivered the principal address at the 74th annual commencement at **Shaw University.** Degrees were conferred upon 67 seniors. Pres. W. S. Nelson of Dillard Univ. delivered the baccalaureate sermon.

Contributions to Shaw by alumni and friends have exceeded those of any other year under President Daniel's administration.

The commencement address at **Knoxville College's** 1939 exercises on June 9, was Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, president of Bethune-Cookman College, and director of the Negro division of the N.Y.A.

The graduating class of 52 was the largest in Knoxville's history.

Summer School opened June 14 to last until July 21. The second session begins July 24 and ends August 29.

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